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Layne's Studio

DR. RALPH J. BUNCHE, *Under Secretary, United Nations, receives first ticket to Carol Brice concert, on December 2, from Mrs. Hattie S. Grayson of St. Albans, New York. The concert, which benefited both the NAACP and the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, was given under the auspices of the Queens chapter of Jack and Jill of America Club at the Jewish Community Center. Mrs. Grayson is club fund-raiser.*

■ Why a segregated boys' club is an anomaly in non-segregated Washington

Segregated Youth In Our National Capital

By Phineas Indritz

SINCE the Nation's Capital, Washington, D. C., is the symbol of American democracy, the eyes of the nation (indeed, the world) focus on what goes on in Washington.

Much and rapid progress has recently been made in ending racial segregation there. In fact, some eminent persons have claimed that racial segregation is now completely gone from Washington.

The sad truth is otherwise. Race barriers are still high in housing, medical care, and jobs; and the local fire department and several other institutions supported by the District Government still practice segregation.

Perhaps the outstanding example of officially sanctioned and supported segregation is the Police Boys Club, under the auspices of the Metropolitan Police Department. There the attitude of rigid recalcitrance stands out like the proverbial sore thumb in sharp contrast with the Administration's official policy, frequently expressed by President Eisenhower, to "use whatever authority exists . . . to end segregation in the District of Columbia." This contrast is emphasized by the fact that the District Commissioners (two civilians and an army engineer officer who head the Government of the voteless District of Columbia) were appointed by President Eisenhower and have control over the Police Department.

The Boys Club of Metropolitan Police, D. C., as it is formally named, was founded in February 1934, twenty-two years ago, under the guiding hand of Major Ernest W. Brown, then superintendent of Washington's Metropolitan Police Department. Its basic objective is to help combat juvenile delinquency. It now provides, without charge, clubhouse facilities and activities for about 22,000 boys, of whom 14,000 are colored.

Since Washington was a rigidly segregated city in 1934, the Police

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PHINEAS INDRITZ, *a practicing attorney, lives in Silver Springs, Maryland.*

Boys Club was organized on the same pattern. But unlike the rest of the City, the Police Boys Club has remained so ever since.

Until recently, the Club had 9 clubhouses, 5 for white boys and 4 for colored boys. The white and colored clubs in the southeast and southwest sections of Washington are only a few blocks apart. The Club also operates two summer camps, one for each race, providing two-week summer vacations for about 1000 white and 1000 colored boys. The camps are about a mile and a half apart.

The board of directors (self-perpetuating) all white, consists of approximately 125 businessmen, lawyers, judges, and other prominent local citizens, plus about 50 police officers with rank of captain and above.

FUNDS SOLICITED

Most of the Club's funds are solicited from the public each year by policemen who tour neighborhoods, stores, and office buildings, in uniform and on official time. Doubts have been expressed by many people, including the District Commissioners, as to the propriety of policemen soliciting funds for any purpose, however worthy. Yet policemen collect about $350,000 annually for the club from about 160,000 donors. An official survey recently made of the Police Department estimated that the direct salary costs of that solicitation exceeded one-third of the amount collected.

A uniform captain of the Police Department is the Club's full time director, and uniformed policemen are assigned on full time duty in each of the clubhouses and the camps. The Club's headquarters are in the Police Department, and its clubhouses have exclusive use of space in various public buildings, without rent. It is estimated that at least $150,000 of Government funds appropriated by Congress are devoted to these supporting activities.

For over two years, more than 30 civic, professional, business, labor, veterans and other local and national organizations, as well as representatives of Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic religious groups, and thousands of ordinary citizens, have urged that the Club end its segregation pattern.

They have pointed out that during the past five or six years, much of the racial segregation which formerly blighted Washington has been eliminated. Schools, theaters, playgrounds, swimming pools, bowling alleys, restaurants, and most other places of public association are now free of racial barriers. Children and adults now mingle freely, without regard to race and without tension or rancor, in stores, buses, classrooms, libraries, play fields, public meeting places, movies, athletic contests, and in many other aspects of daily life.

EQUIPMENT IN STORAGE

Unlike cities like Chicago, where Negroes are ghettoized into small areas of the city, almost every neighborhood in Washington has many, or at least some, colored residents. Many apartment buildings, also, are interracially occupied. Two of the clubhouses sponsored by the Police

Boys Club are in largely Negro areas; the remainder are in interracial neighborhoods.

Some of the Club's directors have acknowledged that integration of the Club would cause no trouble. However the majority of the directors apparently want no part of integration. They would rather lose contributions and clubhouses than give in on the principle of segregation.

One of the clubhouses occupied space in All Souls (Unitarian) Church, which has both white and colored worshippers. In December 1954, the Club abruptly departed from the Church premises and put its equipment in storage rather than even discuss with the Church trustees the possibility of admitting colored boys into club activities. The Unitarian Service Committee has since established the Columbia Heights Boys Club which serves hundreds of boys on an integrated basis.

Another clubhouse was in the Anacostia Park Fieldhouse of the U. S. Department of th Interior. The Club vacated these premises in 1955 rather than comply with the Department's long established nonsegregation policy.

A third clubhouse was closed just before the Fourth of July, 1956, when the club officials decided to stop using the club space in the Brookland public school rather than comply with the board of education nonsegregation rule. The Club officials apparently could not bear to have the club space used interracially after school hours, even though many of the boys attended nonsegregated classes in that very school.

The Club's policy is indeed inexorable. It hurts white people too. For example, most of the policemen in the fifth police precinct station are white. But because they are of the "wrong" race as defined by the Club they may not bring their own children into the Southeast Police Boys Club which is located in that station house. Apparently the Club gives no heed to the principle enunciated by former Chief Justice Vinson (a native of Kentucky) in the famous *Restrictive Covenants* decision: "Equal protection of the laws is not achieved through indiscriminate imposition of inequalities."

CLUB SUPPORT

The Club's current president, a respected lawyer in the community, has recognized the widespread reluctance of citizens to contribute funds to a public organization which operates on a segregated basis. He has pleaded with the citizens "to continue their support of the Boys' Club of Metropolitan Police, D. C.", saying that many white people "will not support an integrated organization." While admitting that "times have changed and will continue to change", he reiterates that no change will be made in the Club's policy. "Let the issue of segregation be decided in other areas where children will not necessarily lose what little they have on the outcome."

But no matter how hard the Club's directors try, they cannot avoid the impact of the Supreme Court's rulings that segregation is unconstitutional not only in public schools but also in all publicly supported recreational facilities.

Nor can the Club cloak itself as

a "private" organization not subject to the Constitutional guarantees of equality. Numerous court decisions have held that where government supports and participates in an organization's affairs, it may not lawfully discriminate on the basis of race.

A well known example is the 1945 decision of the federal court of appeals, upheld by the Supreme Court in 1946, concerning the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore. The Court ruled that in view of the financial support given it by the city government, the Library, even though it had been privately founded and was administered by a private board of trustees, was subjected to the constitutional prohibition against racial discrimination. The District Government, plainly, is even deeper involved in the Police Boys Club than was the City of Baltimore in the operation of the Library.

Opponents of the Club's segregation policy disagree with the statement recently made by the president of the Police Boys Club that segregation "has no direct, material or relevant bearing on the successful accomplishments of its sole function . . . namely, curbing juvenile delinquency."

Dr. A. Powell Davies, the respected minister of All Souls Church, with deep insight, has pointed out that as soon as the Negro boy becomes aware that he is segregated, a mark of his unfitness to associate with white boys, "his temptation is to become hostile to the society in which he is branded as inferior and to reject its standards and rebel against its restraints. He is thus drawn toward crime and juvenile delinquency."

Dr. Davis thus concludes that the Club is "contributing to juvenile delinquency with one hand while deterring it with the other."

It is difficult to see how the Club's segregation policy "serves the best interests of the boys" who live in integrated neighborhoods, play together on integrated playgrounds, study together in integrated schools, but cannot mingle in the clubhouses sponsored by the Police Department. This tearing apart of youngsters can hardly stimulate the ideals of American citizenship which a boys' club, especially when sponsored by an agency dedicated to equal treatment under law, should instill in our children.

HOLLOW CONTENTION

It is said that if segregation is abolished, all or most of the white boys would leave the clubs. But this contention has a hollow ring in the interracial atmosphere of the neighborhoods, schools, and playgrounds in which the boys live and associate. That contention is further belied by actual experience.

For example, the newly formed nonsegrated Columbia Heights Boys Club has many white boys as members and the chairman of its advisory committee, Dr. Walter E. Hager, who is also president of the District Teachers College, says "it is really working." Boy Scout camps in nearby areas are now operating on an integrated basis. The Calvary Methodist Church in Washington has for several years operated a boys-club program for hundreds of boys of all

races, more of whom are white than non-white, even though a Police Boys Club program was operating two blocks away. The desegregation of all the District's playgrounds and recreation facilities just two years ago did not cause any measurable reduction or shift in white patronage. It simply ended the tensions caused by segregation.

The assertion that most white people will refuse to contribute to the support of an integrated boys' club is less than self-evident. It is not only debatable, but doubtful. Washington as a community is rapidly discarding segregation. Many integrated organigations and institutions are supported by white people. More and more white people are troubled in conscience by the Scylla-Charybdis choice of either contributing to segregation or refusing to aid the worthy objective of combatting juvenile delinquency; and as the Club's President has recognized, more and more people are refraining from contributing to the Club *because it is segregated.*

Statistics, of course, are unavailable to show whether more people would contribute, or more dollars would be donated, to the Club if segregation were abolished or if it were continued. Suffice it to say that many believe the Club directors overestimate the prejudice of Washington citizens and underestimate their desire to help boys and minimize juvenile delinquency.

DISCUSSION BANNED

If there is any substance to statements by Club officials that desegregation of the Police Boys Club will raise many "problems", it is hard to understand why they have refused to accept the offers of many community groups and individuals to discuss the "problems" and to help the Club in solving whatever problems may arise.

For more than two years civic groups have been urging the district Commissioners to persuade the Club directors to change its policy and, if the Club refuses, to set up a new interracial board of directors and shift to it the use of the Government's funds and facilities for the Boys' Club. The Commissioners at a public hearing in June 1955 acknowledged that the Police Boys Club is subject to the District Government's nondiscrimination policy order of November 25, 1953, which requires the Metropolitan Police Department to "act without regard to race . . . in all matters relating to the use and enjoyment of . . . any public facility subject to [its] control, authority, or supervision."

But the Commissioners continue to evade their duty with the catchphrase: "It's a matter of proper timing." They have not indicated what is "proper timing", nor set any time schedule. Instead, they have have continued to support the Club and this year even included it for the first time in the "single-package" community fund solicitation conducted in the District Government offices. It seems evident that their "proper timing" formula is simply a rephrasing of the old cliche: "Now is not the time."

The Commissioners seem to disregard the radiating effect of the Club's segregation practices. It affects not only the boys, but also the

(*Continued on page* 639)

United Press Telephoto

CHURCH PICKETS—*Mrs. E. T. Holden and Mrs. Peggy Richard picket the Calvary Assembly of God church in Fort Worth, Texas, after the pastor, Rev. W. T. Miller, sold the building to a Negro congregation. The church is located in racially-tense Morningside Addition. White residents expressed fears that Negro families would move into the area.*

Sherard Studio

NAACP YOUTH MEETINGS—*On March 17, 1956, more than 300 high school and college youths, Negro and white, met in an all-day conference at Shaw University, Raleigh, North Carolina. Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle (seated at right) of Charlottesville, Virginia, was one of the principal speakers. Mrs. Boyle, wife of University of Virginia professor, is noted anti-segregationist.* BOTTOM: *Delegates to the youth and college section of the Virginia state conference of NAACP branches held at Petersburg, Virginia, October 5-7, 1956. NAACP youth secretary Herbert Wright stands at left, front row.*

THE KICK-OFF DINNER *of the Greater New York NAACP campaign on April 20, 1956, was a huge success. Chatting at the table in the Brass Rail are (from L) Father James Kenyon of Christ Episcopal Church, Newark, N. J.; Florence Lucas, president Jamaica, N. Y., branch; and Mrs. Effie Gordon of Rye, N. Y., president New York State NAACP.* CENTER: *Speakers included Dr. Frank Horne (center), executive director Mayor's Commission on Intergroup Relations, and NAACP branch director Gloster Current.* BOTTOM: *Members of the legal redress committee of the New York City branch.*

■ This writer says that complete integration will make "passing" an obsolete phenomenon in the United States

On "Passing"

By Antoinette H. Demond

IN Europe, where I lived for three and one-half years, I found that despite my brown skin and decidedly curly hair I could "pass" if I wanted to. Europeans often did not know that I was an American Negro. They guessed Egyptian, Morrocan, Pakistani, Latin American, etc. Sometimes it seemed to me that they went out of their way to hint at some exotic possibility. Never did they suggest that my forbears might have been slaves, or that they came from *black* Africa. It was somehow indelicate to suggest that my people had once been in bondage.

Some of my friends tell me that I should have gone ahead and "passed" for whatever Europeans thought me to be. And sometimes I have wondered if I have not been too eager to discuss my racial heritage, to ready to give accounts of Negro life in America. But "passing" was not a possibility for me. I had made up my mind about that a long time ago.

Back in Chicago, where I was born, "passing" never came up for serious consideration by members of my family. We knew ourselves to be the descendants of African slaves, Irish immigrants, and American Indians. We knew that that composition made us Negro. A Negro in the United States is anyone known to have "Negro blood."

When I was eight, I had a little fair-skinned friend who suggested that I try and "pass." I remember well how it happened. We both attended the local Catholic church, went to mass on Sundays. On Friday afternoons we went to the classes offered public school children wishing to make their First Holy Communion. When it came time to rehearse walking to the altar to receive communion, the public school children (Negroes) were put at the end of the procession behind the children from the parochial school (all white at that time). All the Negro children walked behind the white children up the aisle to the altar rail except my friend. She was integrated into the parochial school group for, we were told, she would soon enter the parochial school.

MRS. AVERY H. DEMOND, *a frequent* CRISIS *contributor, lives in New York City.*

On the way home from rehearsing the procession, my little friend asked:

"Antoinette, why don't you try to 'pass' for something? Then we could walk together."

"What could I 'pass' for?" I asked feeling somewhat uncomfortable. Being Negro was sometimes inconvenient, but I had not thought of changing my race.

SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

"You could say you come from South America," she suggested. Can't you speak a little Spanish?"

"Adios," I said grinning. That was the only word I knew.

My friend and I stayed friends, but she took her First Communion with the white children, and I stayed with the colored ones. Eventually, she moved away. Some ten years later I saw her in a shopping center. We greeted each other, and I asked about her family. She said that they were all well. She told me where she lived and where she was working. "I'm white now," she added.

"Is that so." I remarked. I did not know what else to say. I had understood from the neighborhood in which she lived and the job she held that she was "passing." I felt glad that she had achieved economic well being, but I felt sorry that in order to achieve it she had had to deny her Negro heritage.

My little friend became white. Some who "pass" do so only on a part-time basis.

I met such a person on the *Westerdam* two summers ago. The third night out of Rotterdam en route to the United States, when the sea was rough and giant phosphorescent waves fell across the decks, the few voyagers not in their cabins were sitting in the main lounge. A middle-aged grey-eyed man took the leather lounge chair next to me. I presumed he was white. I had observed when we embarked that I was the only dark-skinned person aboard ship.

"You're a good sailor," he commented.

"So far, anyway." I replied. "Can't say how I'll manage if it gets any rougher."

"Have you been across before?" he asked taking out a cigarette.

"Yes," I said ."What about you?"

"I go every summer," he told me. "I work hard all year and relax in the summer. Sometimes I study, sometimes I visit hospitals. I'm a doctor."

We went into the bar. The doctor sipped his sherry silently. Suddenly, he leaned over towards me and confided, "You remind me of my mother when she was young. My father was Pennsylvania Dutch, but my mother looked like you."

Only then did I know that the doctor was my racial brother. No word, gesture or reference had revealed his heritage. I smiled to myself. It was clear to me I could not always tell a Negro when I saw one.

The doctor told me that he treated Negro and white patients. He lived in a predominantly white neighborhood, but in that neighborhood he was known to be Negro. That was in the winter. In the summer, he said, he liked to "get away from it all" so when he went to Europe he avoided mentioning his racial heritage.

Unlike my little friend, the doctor did not find it economically disadvantageous to be Negro. He was a wealthy man. He "passed" because

he found it pleasant to escape the confines of minority group status. He said he made a point of not discussing the "race question" during his summer holiday.

VENETIAN EXPERIENCE

Once, on my summer holiday, I felt like trying to "pass." My husband and I were getting ready to leave Venice. We were in that part of Venice that looks out over the headwaters of the Adriatic Sea. It was a beautiful summer evening bathed in the violet haze of the setting sun. In just a few hours we would sail for Athens on the *Campodoglio*. Reluctant to board ship we stood on the pier watching the sights. Two little girls, stringy haired and gaunt, stood watching a huge crane lifting luggage from the pier. The children contrasted sharply with the sleek crowd gathering on the pier.

When the girls saw me, they forgot the crane. *Négra! Négra!* They shouted. Had I come all this way to be called nigger? Suddenly, I wanted to leave Venice. I would have "passed" for anything in order to leave inconspicuously.

I began to walk towards the gang plank. After me they came. *Négra! Négra!*

I stopped. What they had called me was the feminine form of Negro —Negress. Certainly I was that. I turned to meet the children. "Hello!" I said.

Two pairs of eloquent eyes looked up at me, eyes brown like chocolate pudding. They twisted their dresses coyly like little girls sometimes do. The one who seemed older spoke up:

Signóra, she said, "Do you have any chewing gum?" She spoke to me in English.

"Or chocolate," the smaller girl piped up.

These children had memories of *my* people—*dark skinned folks who spoke English and carried chewing gum and chocolate.* I couldn't have "passed" anyway. *They knew!*

But then the American Negro is getting to be better known in Europe. Especially is this true wherever Negro soldiers have been. In some of the larger cities, like Paris, an American Negro on the street draws no special stares unless he contrives to do so. The French claim they can tell *any* American by the cut of his clothes, by his saddle oxfords and moccasins. Americans, they say, have an "air."

MEXICAN TEACHER

One last thing about "passing." In my student days at Fisk University, one of my professors was an anthropologist from Mexico. At some point during the year's work he mentioned to the class that there was some possibility that he had Negro blood. He did not look Negro—he was light-skinned with dark straight hair, but he told us that in the days of the slave trade Negro slaves had been brought to Vera Cruz where he was born. There are no Negroes in Vera Cruz now, he told us, they have all been assimilated. For that reason, *any* native of Vera Cruz might have Negro blood. "What difference does it make," he asked, "if a man has Negro blood or not?"

What difference indeed! We students were very much impressed by this white man who could see that whether a man is Negro or not should make no difference in how he

is treated as a citizen of his country. Our instructor's viewpoint came out of his cultural heritage. He could admit to the possibility of having Negro blood without fear of embarrassment. *In Mexico having Negro blood would not handicap him economically or socially. There would be no need to "pass."*

Will "passing" ever become an obsolete phenomenon in the United States? Yes, I think so. But not until the advantages to be had from passing disappear. Some of the current legislation pertaining to education and transportation speed us to the time when "passing" will be an unnecessary way to achieve economic and social well being. It is doubtful that a man would want to change his race if he saw no advantage to be gained by doing so.

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NAACP LIFE MEMBER—*Thurgood Marshall (center), NAACP special counsel, receives plaque denoting his life membership in the NAACP from Kivie Kaplan of Boston, Massachusetts, co-chairman of the Association's Life Membership Committee. Looking on is Arthur Spingarn, NAACP president.*

■ The thoughts and wishes of delegates to the Paris Congress of Negro Writers and Artists

First Negro Congress of Writers and Artists

By James W. Ivy

NEGRO-AFRICAN culture was brought to a sharp focus before the sessions of the First Congress of Negro Writers and Artists held in the Ampitheater Descartes of the Sorbonne, Paris, France, September 19-22, 1956. But the French public was more interested that week in the bread strike (since only 1,000 of the 4,200 Paris bakeries were open) than in Negro-African culture and the sessions of the Congress. Nevertheless, all morning and afternoon sessions were crowded (night sessions being reserved to delegates) with all sorts of people: Catholics, Protestants, Muslems; students from the Sorbonne, intellectuals of all ages and conditions; anthropologists, ex-colonial officials, priests and nuns all eagerly taking notes or straining, when the paper was in English, to catch the drift of the speaker's thoughts. The audience was about equally divided between whites and blacks.

The Conference had been called by the editors of the French-African magazine, *Présence Africaine*, and Alioune Diop, its editor-in-chief, was the guiding spirit of the Congress. Dr. Jean Price-Mars, rector of the University of Haiti, was Congress president.

There were sixty delegates, and many unofficial observers, in attendance: from the United States: Dr. John A. Davis, Dr. Horace Mann Bond, Dr. William Fontaine, Dr. Mercer Cook, Richard Wright, and James Ivy; Haiti: Dr. Jean Price-Mars, Senator E. Saint-Lot, René Piquion, E. C. Paul, Albert Mangonès, René Depestre, Jacques-Stephen Alexis, and Father G. Bissainthe; Martinque: Louis Achille, Aimé Césaire, Edouard Glissant, Dr. Frantz Fanon; Guadeloupe: Moune de Rivel, A. Rival, Pierre Mathieu; Barbados: Peter Blackman and George Lamming; Jamaica: Dr. Marcus James and J. Holness; Sierra Leone: Davidson Nicol; Nigeria: J. Vaughan, M. Lasebikan, L. A. Fabumni, and Ben Enwonwu; Mozambique: Dos Santos; Angola: M. Lima and Father P. An-

drade; Madagascar: Jacques Rabemananjara, E. Andriantsilaniarivo, F. Ranaivo, and Ranivoson; French Equatorial Africa; Tchibamba; Sudan: Hampté Ba and Abdoul Wahal; Senegal: A. Seck, Léopold Sédar Senghor, D. Diop, Cheikh Anta Diop, Mamadou Dia, Diop Ousmane Soce, Abdoulaye Wade, and B. Toure; Dahomey: Paul Hazoumé; Ivory Coast: B. D. Dié; Togoland: Agblemagnon; Colonie du Niger: B. Hama; Cameroun: F. Oyono, B. Matip, Sengat Kuo, Nyumai, and Thomas Ekollo; Belgian Congo: A. R. Bolamba; and England: Cedric Dover and Marcus James.

Some of the delegates, like Richard Wright, Louis Achille, Edouard Glissant and Dr. Frantz Fanon, to mention several, are residents of France. In addition to the delegates there were such distinguished visitors as the American novelists Chester Himes and James Baldwin, ex-governor of Madagascar Hubert Deschamps, Negro supreme court judge Robert Attuly, *Afrique Informations*' Claude Gerard, LICA's (International League Against Racism and Anti-Semitism) Nadi Doubinsky, and France's crusading journalist, Jean Rous.

PRESS COVERAGE

The American press did not notice the Congress, but six of the sixteen Paris dailies did, as follows: *Le Monde* (moderate independent); *l'Humanité* (Communist party paper); *Combat* (independent liberal); *Le Figaro* (moderate right independent); *Libération* (leftist); and *Franc-Tireur* (independent Socialist). They all carried daily reports and frequently pictures of the African delegates. Two weeklies, *Droit et Liberté* and *France Observateur*, carried summary reports. The British weekly *West Africa* published a page on "The Paris Congress," with a picture of Alioune Diop, Hubert Reschamps, and Dr. Jean Price-Mars. One Rio de Janeiro daily, *Diário de Notícias*, carried a short squib. Christian Herbert, writing in *France Observateur* (September 27, 1956), says the "Congress proposes to define black culture and to examine the cause of its present crisis. . . . Out of this Congress will come an international association of the black world."

"This imposing meeting," explains *Droit et Liberté* (September 19-22), will break down barriers and increase mutual respect and brotherhood among men of all races and colors." "A cultural inventory, but at the same time an inventory of the destructive effects of many centuries of oppression," explains *Libération* (September 20, 1956). And adds: "It is a necessary inventory, one forcing us to face certain realities, although it never descends to mere invective. These are disagreeable truths, truths which can be uttered only by Negro intellectuals, but truths which must be said, even though at times they make us whites blush."

OPENING SESSION

Alioune Diop opened the Congress on Wednesday, September 19, with greetings to delegates and friends, the reading of letters from distinguished well-wishers, and a welcoming speech in which he outlined the purposes of the Congress. He compared the occasion to Bandung:

This day will be a landmark in our history. If the meeting at Bandung,

which followed World War II, constitutes the most important event for non-European consciences I think I can say that this first world Congress of black men of culture will represent for our people the second event of this decade.

For centuries the dominant event in our history seems to have been the African slave trade. This, fellow congressmen, is our primary sense of solidarity, the tie which justifies our meeting here. Negroes of the United States,

United Press Photo

A SESSION *of the First Congress of Negro Writers and Artists. Dr. Mercer Cook of the United States and Louis Achille of Martinique are seen in front row, left.*

the West Indies and Africa, whatever the space which sometimes separates us spiritually, we incontestably have this in common: we are descendents of the same ancestors.

We are met here today because of this common bond which weaves in and out through our literary and artistic productions whether it be in Africa, America, or the West Indies. Our aim is not to revive old grudges, that would be fruitless, but to face the past, a present rich in promise, and a future pregnant with peace and brotherhood for all races of mankind.

I now refer briefly to salient thoughts in some of the papers. Remember that when the actual words are used, they must, of course, be taken somewhat out of their context and are liable, therefore, to misinterpretation. But I shall try to be fair.

Léopold Sédar Senghor likewise referred to "the spirit of Bandung," but he defined it, however, as "a spirit of culture." The African, he added, has often had assimilation thrust upon him without his actually being assimilated. "He must preserve his own personality," believes Mr. Senghor, "while at the same time welcoming western culture." He also remarked that "cultural freedom is a *sine qua non* of political emancipation."

Dr. Thomas Ekollo noted that times have changed and that recent events are forcing men to revise their concepts of the black world. E. Andriantsilaniarivo condemned French rule in his country: "Today's Malagasy is no longer a Platonic nationalist, reveling in admiration and hope at the shrine of pompous declarations and flattering promises, full of confidence in a paradisiacal future to be prepared for him by others." Jacques Rabemananjera, only recently released from ten years' imprisonment at Calvi, noted that "The idea of the barbaric Negro is a European invention. . . . The Negro becomes a barbarian the moment the white man decides to exploit his barbarism." Communist deputy Aimé Césaire claimed that colonial rule produces cultural anarchy. And Keyinde Vaughan and Ben Enwonu both argued that art develops, or should develop, simultaneously with political independence. Mr. Vaughan said he could not "imagine African film makers creating anything tangible under colonial tutelage."

AFRICAN FREEDOM

". . . In West African writing there is," explained Davidson Nicol in his account of the work of contemporary British West African writers, "a lack of the motive power of burning racial injustice which carries through in the writing of other peoples of African descent." Lasebidan read an informative paper on the tonal structure of Yoruba. Dr. Horace Mann Bond spoke on the American roots of Gold Coast nationalism, and Dr. William Fontaine gave a philosophical analysis of segregation and desegregation in the United States. Louis Achille wondered if America really appreciated the grand and sacred music of the spirituals. Thomas Diop believed it possible for African and European culture to meet on a basis of equality, or at least to achieve a raprochement. Abdoulaye Wade denounced the native labo rcodes imposed by the whites since they so often summarily decide the fate of Africans without their consent.

Richard Wright gave a moving speech on "The Plight of the Tragic Elite in Africa," in which he said, among other things:

The problem is freedom. How can Asians and Africans be free of their stultifying traditions and customs and become industrialized, and powerful, if you like, like the West? . . . I say that the West cannot ask the elite of Asia and Africa, even though educated in the West, to copy or ape what has happened in the West. Why? Because the West has never realy been honest with itself about how it overcame its own traditions and blinding customs.

It was left for Dr. Frantz Fanon to openly denounce racism and colonialism—*Franc-Tireur* characterized his speech as *"le juste réquisitoire contre le colonialisme.'* Racism, he said, is only the visible aspects of a system of oppression and exploitation. "Normally, it is difficult for a colonial country, that is one drawing its subsistence from the exploitation of a different race, not to be racist."

I cannot, of course, mention all the speakers and their speeches in a short article. African history, African art and literature, African religion, African education and economic development were among the topics taken up. And the Haitian speakers discussed various aspects of Haitian culture. It must likewise be emphasized that the determination to recreate African culture implied no repudiation of western culture. Rejection is hardly possible among *congressistes noirs* who used two of the leading Western languages—French and English—as their medium of communication. Gabriel Mace, in her column "Bonjour," *Franc-Tireur* (September 24, 1956) quotes a "dig" at the Congress from a Parisian afternoon daily: "Until a 'Negro' language is either invented or selected from the many hundreds in Africa this Negro culture is going to remain a tributary of the West."

CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

The legitimate aims of peoples of Negro descent were expressed in "Final Resolutions," adopted at the closing session of the Congress. Among the resolutions adopted were the following:

We Negro writers, artists, and intellectuals of various political ideologies and religious creeds have felt a need to meet at this crucial stage in the evolution of mankind in order to examine objectively our several views on culture and to probe those cultures with a full consciousness of our responsibilities—first, before our own respective peoples, secondly, before colonial peoples and those living under conditions of racial oppression, and, thirdly, before all free men of good will.

We deem it unworthy of genuine intellectuals to hesitate to take a stand regarding fundamental problems, for such hesitations serve injustice and error.

We maintain that the growth of culture is dependent upon the termination of such shameful practices in this twentieth century as colonalism, the oppression of weaker peoples, and racialism.

We affirm that all peoples should be placed in a position where they can learn their own national cultural values (history, language, literature, etc.) and enjoy the benefits of education within the framework of their own culture.

This Conference regrets the involuntary absence of a delegation from South Africa.

This Conference is pleased to take due notice of recent advances made throughout the world, advances which imply a general abolition of the colonial system, as well as the final and universal

liquidation of racialism.

We Negro writers and artists proclaim our fellowship with all men and expect from them, for our people, a similar fellowship.

MEANING OF CONGRESS

Was there any common theme running through the Conference? If there was, what was it? Superficially, because of the diversity of topics discussed, one often got the impression of topical irrelevancy if not diffuseness. I do, however, discover a persistent theme weaving its way through most of the papers, especially those presented by French Africans, and that theme was colonialism, autonomy, and cultural freedom. In other words, direction, discipline and ordering of black Africans by white Frenchmen must go. After centuries of obscurity, oppression, and misinterpreation, Africans are now in a position to interpret themselves—"Let us speak," said the Malagasy poet Jacques Rabemananjara.

This is a new spirit on the part of the French-African *élite* and can be understood only against the background of French colonial policy. Economically, the French attitude is mercantilist, that is the colonies are a source of raw materials and a market for Metropolitan manufactured goods and investment capital; culturally, the attitude is assimilationist, the gallicizing of an *élite* to work in regnant and exploitative association with the French. This *élite* is to be French, but Frenchmen of a darker color and African birth. This racial relationship creates a tolerant attitude between French and French-Africans, although it probably does little to mollify the harshness of French colonial rule. Because the French regard their culture as the best in the world, and because colonials who have assimilated it are recognized and accepted in French society as Frenchmen, cultural contumacy and insurgency are regarded as treasonous and ruthlessly suppressed. One practical result of this policy is that the colonial masses have been deprived of trained leadership, since the Metropolitan *élite* has regarded itself as more French than African.

Despite their "assimilation," this *élite*, what with two world wars and the spirit of nationalism abroad in the world, and the example of the Gold Coast near at hand, no longer believes French culture divine, infallible and holy. They may be black Frenchmen but they are at the same time conscious that they are Ashanti or Fan or Serere or Yoruba or Hova or Sakalava. "Assimilation is never total," insists Dr. Fanon. They are aware of their non-French cultural roots, which they wish to preserve. They are increasingly aware of the racialist aspects of the colonial situation. They are growing increasingly restive in their bonds of colonial dependence. They no longer "rejoice in being Frenchmen," as is attested by a growing body of anti-colonial literature written by Negro-Frenchmen — Frantz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, Sylvère Alcandre, Ferdinand Oyono, to mention a few. And there is *Présence Africaine* itself, now in its seventh year of publication. In the light of these changed attitudes the Congrees should have devoted its sessions exclusively to politics

and racialism. In other words, it should have been a Pan-African rather than a cultural Congress. But French authorities would not have permitted the holding of a nationalistically - oriented, French - African managed congress anywhere in French territory, and least of all in Paris. The organizers of the Paris Congress got around this opposition by calling a *Congrès des Ecrivains et Artistes Noirs.*

On the surface the papers (which had been submitted six weeks ahead) discussed the many complex problems of various African tribal cultures, but at the same time there was the implication that nothing "tangible could be created under colonial tutelage." The audience always got the point. And, of course, the resolutions adopted underscore what I have just said. One French newspaper, *Le Monde* (September 20, 1956) remarked: "The papers so far read before the Congress have generally taken a politically anti-racist tone and congratulate the Congress for convening at this particular moment in history when there is widespread revolt against colonialism."

I devote space to clarification of French colonial attitudes and its effect upon Africans, because the Con-

ALIOUNE DIOP, *editor of* Presence Africaine *and Organizer of the Congress, and Dr. Jean Price-Mars (R), rector of the University of Haiti, Congress president.*

United Press

gress was the idea of Africans, organized by Africans, and guided, in its sessions, by Africans. French Antilleans were, of course, present and participated in planning and policies. Since 1945 thinking French West Indians have changed their scale of racial values. They no longer try to live, think, and dream as white Frenchmen. They have thrown in their lot with their African brothers since they have discovered that they are of African descent and the sons of transplanted slaves. (See Dr. Frantz Fanon's article "Antillais et Africans," French West Indians and Africans, in February, 1955, *Esprit*). As the great Martiniquian poet Aimé Césaire (*Cahier d'un Retour au Pays Natal,* 1947) express it:

A force de penser au Congo
je suis devenu un Congo bruissant de
forêts et de fleuves. . . .
(Thoughts of the Congo have made me a rustling Congo of forests and rivers. . . .)

There were other viewpoints than the African. There was the American, the British West Indian, the Haitian. But these were in a sense subordinate to the overall thesis which I have already examined.

There were, of course, regrettable gaps among the countries represented. There were no delegates from Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia, or Brazil, all countries with sizeable Negro and Negroid populations though with attenuated racial problems. One had expected representation from Joviano Severino de Melo's *União dos Homen de Côr,* a sort of Brazilian NAACP. This is the only Latin-American country sufficiently race conscious in the American organizational sense to wish to identify itself with an international congress of Negroes. For some reason the Gold Coast was not represented; and, of course, South Africa for quite obvious reasons.

The Congress was inspiring and informative. *Présence Africaine,* and its editor Mr. Diop, must be congratulated for getting so many Negro intellectuals of various languages and cultures together for the four-day sessions of the Congress. Some sort of permanent organization will probably emerge from the Congress, and this organization will probably take on political and nationalistic overtones.

EMERGENT AFRICA

"We always speak of Africa abstractly, without consciousness of her breadth, her astonishing variety, and her unity. Africans usually discover Africa only after they have lived in Europe. Yet we Africans have ideals and aspirations. Why do we remain silent? Our dreams, our sufferings, our history, and our ideals must be brought to the attention of the world."

—Le *Petit Camerounais*

Looking and Listening . . .

AMALGAMATION FUDGE

PROBABLY the most ridiculous objection offered by many Southerners against Public School integration is the argument that desegregation means intermarriage and amalgamation of the races. Their contention is preposterous, wholly untenable, since they never support it with facts, and it is not the real issue. One of the latest in the many magazine pieces by a Southerner expressing hysterical fear of race-mixing is published in *The Atlantic Monthly* (November, 1956) by Herbert Ravenel Sass, an author, of South Carolina. Mr. Sass' inane obfuscations, however, are answered in the same issue by Dr. Oscar Handlin of Harvard University.

Mr. Sass argues that millions of non-Southerners will quickly support the South's position on public school integration when they realize that integration there would transform America into a nation made up considerably of mixed-blood people. This, incidentally, is already true, and was brought about largely by Southerners.

Mr. Handlin, on the other hand, points out that "there is not a shred of evidence to support the contention that desegregation will hasten amalgamation" of the races.

Sass writes: "The people of the North and West do not favor the transformation of the United States into a nation composed in considerable part of mixed bloods any more than the people of the South do. Northern support of school integration in the South is due to the failure to realize its inevitable biological effect in regions of large Negro population. If Northerners did realize this, their enthusiasm for mixed schools in the South would evaporate at once."

The Charleston author says that behind the drive for integration in the South is the Negro leaders' desire for racial amalgamation. These leaders "not only want the right to amalgamate through legal intermarriage but they want that right to be exercised widely and frequently," he writes.

Handlin makes three points in rebuttal:

(1) That the "blood" of the whites has long since been crossed with that of Negroes. Almost 3,000,000 Americans are mulattoes, he says, and studies show that between 70 and 90 per cent of the Negroes in the United States have at least one known white ancestor.

(2) Intermarriage has been a negligible factor in racial amalgamation. He says miscegenation has been the mode of infusing the black with the white strain.

(3) Miscegenation is the product of the inferiority of Negro women,

Handlin claims. Whatever has tended to increase that inferiority, he says, has increased the rate of miscegenation. Whatever diminishes it lowers the rate. Segregation actually is indirectly more conducive to the mixture of races than desegregation, he contends.

Sass, in his article, says that "race preference is not active in the very young."

He writes: "Race preference (which the propagandists miscall race prejudice or hate) is one of those instincts which develop gradually as the mind develops and which, if taken in hand early enough, can be prevented from developing at all.

"Hence, if the small children of the two races in approximately equal numbers—as would be the case in a great many of the South's schools—were brought together intimately and constantly and grew up in close association in integrated schools under teachers necessarily committed to the gospel of racial integration, there would be many in whom race preference would not develop."

Sass says that "among these new generations mixed matings would become commonplace, and a greatly enlarged mixed-blood population would result."

Handlin argues: "Concealed in the Southern view is the curious assumption that, given freedom of choice, men and women would tend to select mates of the opposite race, for this clearly is a purely voluntary matter; mere propinquity forces no one into love. All the evidence points in the opposite direction. Marriages are usually formed among individuals of common cultural, social, and religious backgrounds — even where race does not intrude. Take a large city high school, where boys and girls of diverse antecedents mix without distinction of race, creed, or national origins. Ten years after graduation, the former students will have sorted themselves out in marriages with the partners closest to themselves in color, religion, and antecedents."

TALLAHASSEE BUS PROTEST

MANY who have read about the Tallahassee, Florida, bus protest do not know of the incident which caused it. Here is the way it started, according to Rev. C. Kenzie Steele:

"On May 26, 1956, two young women students of Florida A & M University were asked to stand rather than to occupy the only available seat on a city coach. They were ordered to stand on this crowded bus simply because a white woman was on the other end of the seat.

"The white lady did not object, but the bus driver insisted that it would be an unpardonable sin for these neatly clad college women of color to share a seat with a white woman. But it so happened that these young ladies from A & M had too much of this new twentieth century Negro blood in their veins to pay their fare for segregated services. The driver would not refund their money, instead he had them arrested and carried to police headquarters where they were charged with placing themselves in the position of starting a riot. On Saturday night a cross was burned in front of

their residence. This was supposed to frighten the young women and make of them an example for the rest of the students as well as for all Tallahassee Negroes. But thank God! instead it had the opposite effect."

SOUTHERN JEWS

THE reaction of Jews in the troubled South is the subject of discussion in recent issues of two magazines, *Jewish Frontier* (November, 1956) and *Midstream* (Autumn, 1956). Albert Vorspan writes in the *Jewish Frontier* on "The South, Segregation, and the Jew: A First-Hand Report." After describing racial tensions and the breakdown of communication between whites and Negroes in the Deep South, he asks:

And what of the Jew? The Jew in the Deep South has been shaken by the aftermath of the Supreme Court decision as by nothing that has happened in the United States since the Civil War. Inner turmoil and conflict are immediately evident in virtually every Jewish community in the Deep South. The Jew in the Deep South is, usually, a merchant. He is therefore exposed to the possibility of economic pressure from the White Citizens Councils on the one hand and the Negroes on the other. Most Jews recognize the moral evil of segregation. Only a few Jews, one or two of them prominent, have joined White Citizens Councils and most Jews have contempt for Jews who have succumbed to the blandishments or pressure of the Councils. But, despite their deepest ethical principles, few Jews in the Deep South are willing to identify themselves publicly with the struggle to eliminate segregation; to do so, they feel, would call down upon them the furies of hatred which now buffet the Negro community, would open the Pandora's box of long dormant anti-Semitism.

Far from leading in desegregation efforts, many Jewish leaders in Deep Southern communities are busily exerting pressures on national Jewish organizations to soften their public stands or to stop making public statements supporting integration. Similarly, pressures are being exerted in many Jewish communities to persuade the rabbi to stay away from "political" and "controversial" subjects—meaning integration. Some rabbis have acquiesced to these demands. Most Southern rabbis are frustrated and torn by the conflicting demands of their timid laymen and the nagging dictates of their conscience.

In these circumstances, the rabbi in the South, and especially in the Deep South, who insists upon speaking boldly is rare.

Then he cites the names of Southern rabbis who are exceptions to the rule: Rabbi Milton Graftman of Birmingham, Rabbi William Silverman of Nashville, Rabbi Henry Fischell of Tuscaloosa, Rabbi Julian Feibelman of New Orleans, and Rabbi Charles Mantinband of Hattiesberg.

". . . Most rabbis," Mr. Vorspan, explains, "are firmly convinced that Jewish leadership in the integration fight would harm their Jewish communities and, also, would hurt and not help the cause of racial equality."

Finally he adds:

A recent poll, undertaken by a private testing agency at the request of the *Catholic Digest*, shows up in startling fashion the nature of the Jewish dilemma in the South. Inquiring into the attitudes of Southerners on racial integration, 65 percent of the white Protestants opposed it, 63 percent of the White Catholics opposed it; but only 46 percent of Southern Jews opposed

it. Yet, despite this, for reasons indicated earlier, most Jews neither speak out nor act in their communities in support of their moral convictions on the race question. The result is that the Southern Jew in 1956 is divided against himself, impaled on the horns of a dilemma.

Midstream carries articles by both Albert Vorspan, "A Visitor's Account," and Harry L. Golden, "Unease in Dixie." Since we have already given Mr. Vorspan's views, we shall quote a few excerpts from Mr. Golden:

It is necessary to make one point clear at the outset. The Jew in the South does not consider this problem on the simple basis of being either 'for' or 'against' the elimination of racial segregation. In fact the Jew in the South rarely thinks in terms of the Negro at all as he wrestles with this problem in his communal meetings or in the communications to his national fraternities and religious organizations. Instead, he sees the problem as merely one of certain fixed 'jeopardies,' any one of which is serious enough to threaten his security. Thus if the textile mills were to shut down, for instance, it would mean economic disaster for the entire South, but to the Jew it would mean much more. It would involve his constant fear that those who may deem themselves responsible for such a tragedy would automatically seek to shift the responsibility to the Jew; charge him with their guilt and the punishment otherwise due them. . . .

Thus in the present controversy the Jew feels that his own dilemma is the result of decisions and of attitudes in which he has had no part, and which were determined by neither his wishes nor his conduct. In fact his personal convictions are not involved at all. Here and there a Jew with a particular longing for *'yichus'* may say, 'In our home the darkies always use the back door.' But these are isolated cases. In the entire South there is no one less convincing that a Jewish 'white supremacist' (as tragi-comical a figure as the Negro anti-Semite). Of all the ethnic groups in America only the Negroes and the Jews are denied the luxury of the 'constants' of our society, 'white supremacy' and anti-Semitism. The Jew of course knows this. And what is even more to the point he knows that his opposite number among the white Gentiles knows it too. But it is precisely for this reason that the Gentile in the deep South has been pressuring the Jew to join in, or contribute to, his pro-segregation organizations. The white Gentile interested in this pro-segregation resistance values Jewish support highly because he considers it a 'defection' from the ranks of the 'enemy.' He places the Jewish pro-segregationist in the same category as the occasional Negro 'leader' who signs a paper stating 'We Negroes will never be happy in white schools.'

The Jew is only vaguely conscious of the more serious implications involved in his acquiescence to the pro-segregation movement. And for this the leadership of some of his national religious and social-action organizations may have to bear the responsibility for a long time to come. Because for the Jew in the South such acquiescence means the confirmation of the frightening concept that his freedom and safety, even in America, have a frontier—a froniter involving the necessity to conform to the prejudices of the society in which he lives. It should also be remembered that the Jew thinks of this 'required' conformity in terms of actual survival —'What will happen to us here?'— despite the fact that he has never been excluded from the open society of the Gentile world. At this level there is considerable ambivalence in the Jew's feeling toward the Negro. . . .

ENGLISH COLOR BAR

FOREIGN correspondent Stan Grant sends us the following report from London, England, on English color-bar practices:

Intense color-bar practices is gradually showing itself in the British Isles.

Several hundred engine drivers from the Eastern Region of The British Railways told the Minister of Transport that the public (which also includes Negroes) was in danger, because the colored firemen employed on their trains were 'incompetent and irresponsible men.' They asked the Minister for an enquiry, 'in the interest of public safety.'

The engine drivers message was contained in a petition, presented at the Ministry, by a committee who claimed they represented the majority of drivers at the Stratford Depot in the East section of London.

A copy has been sent to Sir Brian Robertson, the Chairman of the British Transport Commission. Both the Commission and the Ministry stated that the document was being studied.

The petition said that recently a large number of colored men had been employed at the Stratford (East London) Depot. These men were given a small test and placed in a school, under the direction of a locomotive driver—for a very short period. They were then passed out and immediately came into 'the line of promotion' and were considered fit for firing duties.

There is a fall-through on this point, in view of a statement issued by the Eastern Region of British Railways, which said in part: 'Colored persons have been employed on footplate [firemen] duties for a number of years on British Railways. Before being allowed to undertake such duties, they are given training and are required to pass tests to ensure they are capable. . . . The same tests are applied to white and colored footplate staff.

'The drivers also maintain that in many cases, they cannot "understand these men"—and that as the responsibility for trains rests solely on the driver, an in-competent fireman throws an unfair burden on him. We are having to do two men's jobs under conditions which only give time to do one properly,' says the petition.

It is peculiar to note that the drivers' union, The Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen has agreed to accept colored workers into 'the line of promotion,' but the local Stratford Committee says that, having given them a fair trial, it feels that only men of the highest standard should be accepted.

A spokesman for the committee said that none of the men presenting the petition was a Communist, nor did they want a color bar. There would have been no objection to colored firemen who were able to do their jobs properly.

The petition has not got the sanction of The Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen or the National Union of Railwaymen. The A.S.L.E.F. expects to be called into the matter, as most of the drivers covered by the petition are its members.

At the same-time, a spokesman for the National Union of Railwaymen said that reports he had received from Stratford, was that the drivers complaints had nothing to do with a 'color-bar' and that 'good trade unionists' had not signed the petition.

In the meantime, an official of the British Railways confirmed that there was a shortage of firemen at the Stratford Depot—seventy vacancies. The total number of colored workers employed on foot-plate duties were seventy-seven (77).

The position is not likely to become explosive, as there is increased militancy in colored circles, and there can be severe penalties on either side.

JANE ADDAMS CHILDREN'S BOOK AWARD FOR 1956

Eli Aaron

PICTURED *at the awarding of the Jane Addams Children's Book Award for 1956 to Arna Bontemps for* Story of the Negro *are (from L) Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. Bess Cameron, chairman of New York City branch of the Women's League for Peace and Freedom; Mrs. Trevor Teele, chairman of the Jane Addams Children's Book Award Committee; and Arna Bontempts, author of* Story of the Negro *(Knopf). The award was presented on November 20 at the Carnegie International Center, New York City, by The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Purpose of the award is to call the attention of the public to a distinguished literary work for children which helps to bring an understanding of other people and the many pressing problems of today.*

Good News

Dr. Robert B. Johnson, formerly associated with the Russell Sage Foundation and Cornell University, has been appointed as director of research for the National Conference of Christian and Jews. Dr. Johnson is the son of the late Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University.

★ ★ ★

Dr. Forrest Marshall, a native of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, is the newly appointed head of the pharmaceutical department of the southern division of the Albert Einstein Medical Center in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

★ ★ ★

Atlanta-born Mattwilda Dobbs made her debut as Gilda in Verdi's *Rigoletto* at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York City, on November 9. Miss Dobbs, a coloratura soprano, is the first Negro to sing a romantic lead at the Metropolitan.

"She was equal to the opportunity . . . all told a fine debut," said Howard Taubman in *The New York Times*. "Miss Dobbs is a great artist who has a brilliant future," said Paul Henry Lang in the *New York Herald Tribune*.

★ ★ ★

Nat ("King") Cole began his own television show over Channel 4 on November 5 at 7:30 P.M. J. P. Shanley of *The New York Times* describes Mr. Cole's fifteen-minute show as "a refreshing musical diversion."

★ ★ ★

Ellen Virginia Holly's performance as Stephanie Alan Broadway's production of Paton's play, *Too Late the Phalarope*, has been described by the critics as magnificent.

★ ★ ★

Arna Bontemps, Fisk University librarian, was presented The Jane Addams Children's Book Award for 1956 for his *Story of the Negro*. The award was presented by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in New York City on November 20.

★ ★ ★

Dr. W. Montague Cobb, professor and head of the department of anatomy in the Howard University Medical School, has been elected chairman of the Public Health Advisory Council of the District of Columbia. Dr. Cobb has been a member of the nine-member council since its formation in 1953.

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are
you
doing
to fight
the

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Editorials

ELECTION POST-MORTEM

THAT President Eisenhower was swept to victory in November with a greater margin than in 1952 is a fact. But what his victory means is subject to many interpretations, especially since the voters re-elected Mr. Eisenhower and failed to vote in either a GOP House or Senate. The shift in the Negro vote is another fact subject to a great variety of interpretations.

In the South the Negro shift was a return to the Republican party; in the North, the Negro remained Democratic but with smaller margins. But there must be a still greater defection of the Negro vote from the Democratic party in the North if the Republicans are to regain that mesmeric control which they exercised from Reconstruction days down to the thirties. The shift in the voting pattern of Negroes was undoubtedly influenced by the question of civil rights. Republicans have not pushed civil rights legislation in Congress, but neither have they produced such implacable civil-rights foes as Senator Eastland and others of his ilk. The Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the nation's public schools also favored the Republicans because it was handed down during a Republican administration. The Negrophobic White Citizens Councils, naturally, alienated many Southern Negroes. Many of them must, therefore, have voted Republican in protest.

IT is also safe to assume that many Negroes, dissatisfied with the preformance of both parties, did not vote at all. This seems to have been true in Philadelphia and a few other northern cities. Despite the civil-rights issue, Negroes, no doubt, voted in large numbers for President Eisenhower for the same reason that the majority of Americans voted for him. The country enjoys peace and prosperity, and there is a high level of employment in which Negroes are sharing. The Suez crisis, coming as it did, also helped, because Americans felt that in this imbroglio a man like President Eisenhower is just the man to keep us out of trouble. Now that Mr. Eisenhower is back in the White House for another four years, the Negro voter must watch Congress.

FILIBUSTER AND CIVIL RIGHTS

SENATOR Mike Mansfield (D. Mont.) is optimistic if he thinks Senate Democrats are going to pass civil-rights legislation without a fight. Slated to be his party's whip, the Senator is quoted as follows: "I think it is not at all improbable that a fairly good civil rights bill will meet with the approval of this Congress."

The catch here is the phrase "fairly good." What Senator Mansfield seems to be suggesting is that the Senate might pass "toothless" civil-rights legislation purely as a political gesture. Effective civil-rights legislation can be passed if there is first a revision of Senate Rule 22 to make it possible to end a filibuster by a simple majority vote. Rule 22 requires that sixty-four of the 96 Senators must vote closure, or limitation of debate on a bill. Since Rule 22 allows no action on a motion to amend the rules, any attempt at liberalization of Rule 22 can itself be filibustered. This is the roadblock confronting the anti-filibuster Senate Democrats: Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.), Wayne Morse (Oregon), Paul Douglass (Ill.), Richard Neuberger (Oregon), Pat McNamara (Mich.), and James Murray (Mont.). Republicans Thomas H. Kuchel (Calif.), Irving Ives (N. Y.), and Clifford Case (N. J.) have announced their support. Senator-elect Joseph S. Clark (D., Pa.) says that he will also back the rules change. Lyndon B. Johnson (D., Texas), Senate majority leader, says that though he does not favor any changes in Senate rules, he will not hamper Senators who wish to try.

NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins has already urged Vice-President Nixon and Senators Johnson and Knowland, Republican minority leader from California, to end the filibuster. "As long as the filibuster remains," declared Mr. Wilkins, "civil-rights pledges in party platforms and other such pronouncements are meaningless. . . . In this time of world crisis we cannot afford the damaging impact of this sinister device to paralyze Congress."

Watch your Congressman to see how he votes on the fight to revise Senate Rule 22.

BUS RULING

THE CRISIS hails the United States Supreme Court ruling on bus segregation in Alabama because it gives the *coup de grâce* to legal segregation of the races on public transportation in the South. This ruling could effect the eleven southern states which still legally enforce separation of the races in public transportation. Any Southern opposition to its implementation is bound in the long run to fail. For Negroes this means the ultimate removal of one of the most humiliating features of segregated Southern life.

"SOUTH AFRICAN TIE TO U.N. SLASHED"

"THE South Africans withdrew from last year's General Assembly after it adopted on November 9 a resolution calling for continuation of an investigation into South Africa's apartheid policy of separating the nation's 2,600,000 whites from the rest of the 13,393,000 inhabitants."

The New York Times, November 28, 1956

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

REAFFIRMATION OF POLICY

THE basic policy and procedures of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were reaffirmed at the regular November meeting of the Association's Board of Directors. The one-page statement was adopted in answer to "some charges, stimulated by the school desegration controversy, which seek to label this Association as concerned with stirring up litigation and soliciting plaintiffs to file law suits." The charges, the Board resolution states, "are based upon ignorance of our function or hostility to our basic purposes."

Citing the Association's Articles of Incorporation, the document sets forth, as follows, the NAACP's "basic and firmly fixed operational procedure":

1. The "primary function" of the NAACP is "to remove barriers of racial discrimination through normal democratic processes, informing legislatures of the importance of enacting laws securing civil rights and [also] the executives of their statutory, administrative or inherent authority to end discrimination."

2. The NAACP also seeks "to inform the public of facts about discrimination, educate persons as to their rights, encourage their exercise of these, and aid in seeking to redress grievances as to racial discrimination before appropriate local, state and federal authorities."

3. The NAACP is "ready, within the limits of our resources, to aid aggrieved persons where all other avenues of redress are closed, to seek redress through court action, if requested by the real parties in interest, their attorney or legal representative, by furnishing financial assistance and authorizing our counsel to give assistance or advice but only where the question involves a matter of racial discrimination of primary and general importance to the citizenship status of Negroes.

"No officer, employee, member, branch or other person connected with the Association is permitted to solicit plaintiffs for litigation or otherwise encourage persons to file law suits. When court action is involved, this Association will do absolutely nothing unless the aggrieved party seeks its assistance."

BUS RULING HAILED

THE United States Supreme Court's ruling of November 13 which banned segregation on intrastate buses in Alabama was hailed immediately by Roy Wilkins as "a further step in the direction of wiping out all forms of racial segregation in public facilities, services, and institutions."

Mr. Wilkins expressed the opinion that "now that the Supreme Court has spoken with clarity we are hopeful that the majority of communities throughout the South will fall in line."

The ruling on bus segregation in Alabama was interpreted as being the deathknell to the enforced separation of the races on public vehicles travelling within cities or states throughout the South. Among states which could be affected by the ruling are Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana, Florida, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia.

The Supreme Court affirmed a three-judge federal court ruling that held bus segregation in Alabama to "violate the due process and equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment" to the U.S. Constitution. The ruling was concerned specifically with an Alabama state law and a Montgomery, Alabama, city code requiring segregation on intrastate buses.

Commenting further, Mr. Wilkins declared: "The whole matter of bus segregation has been one of the most irritating and humiliating problems confronting the colored people in the South. Often bus drivers have been discourteous and rude to Negro passengers, including women with small children."

NAACP attorneys in the case were Thurgood Marshall, special counsel, Robert L. Carter, assistant special counsel, Fred D. Gray and Charles D. Langford.

The November 13 ruling grew out of a suit brought by four Negro women residents of Montgomery, Alabama, challenging the constitutionality of the Montgomery city code and the Alabama state law which require segregation on local buses. The four women had refused to comply with the segregation laws and had been arrested and fined for their action.

Their case was heard by a three-judge federal court which in a majority opinion held the segregation statutes to be unconstitutional. This ruling was appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court by the Alabama Public Service Commission and the Montgomery Board of Commissioners.

On November 14, the day after the high court ruling, U.S. Circuit Judge Richard T. Rives of Montgomery, one of the judges who composed the three-judge federal court which rendered the original decision in the case, said that the ruling would go into effect in Montgomery as soon as the Supreme Court's order reached the U.S. District Court in that city.

On November 14, the Negro residents of Montgomery who since last year have been conducting a mass protest against racial discrimination on city buses, voted to ride the buses once more as soon as the Supreme Court

mandate reaches the U.S. District Court in Montgomery.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a leader of the protest movement, pointed out to a recent mass meeting of some 2,000 Negroes that local authorities might arrest Negroes sitting in "white" sections of city buses if such authorities had not been notified officially of the Supreme Court rule.

Approximately 50,000 Negroes of Montgomery have refused to ride on city buses since last December 5, during which time the Montgomery bus company has lost some $750,000 in revenue. The mass protest started when Mrs. Rosa Parks was arrested and fined for refusing to relinquish her bus seat to a white man.

In February, nearly 100 Montgomery Negroes were arrested for their leadership of the bus protest movement. At that time, the NAACP asked all sympathetic citizens to contribute at least one hour's wages to the Montgomery effort to end bus discrimination.

On March 22, Dr. King was found guilty of leading an illegal boycott against the city bus lines. His jail sentence of 386 days was suspended after defense lawyers announced that the case would be appealed. The cases of 89 other indicated Negro leaders were continued pending the appeal.

J. H. Bagley, manager of the Montgomery bus company, announced that his drivers would continue to enforce segregation on the vehicles until a state injunction requiring it is dissolved.

NEGRO VOTE SWITCH

THE nationwide swing of Negro voters towards the Republican party in the presidential election has been attributed by Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, to "the growing resentment against the pernicious role of Southern Democrats in hamstringing all civil rights legislation and especially in slowing down school desegregation."

As long ago as last April, Mr. Wilkins noted, there were positive indications of a switch among Negro voters away from the Democratic party which they had supported consistently with majorities up to 80 per cent since the 1936 election which returned President Roosevelt for his second term. In this year's election, President Eisenhower received a heavier vote from predominantly Negro wards than any Republican presidential candidate since 1932.

Reports received at NAACP headquarters in New York indicate that gains among Negro voters for President Eisenhower over the 1952 election ranged from 4 percentage points in Chicago to 54 in Atlanta. Four assembly districts in Harlem, which in 1952 returned only 20.8 per cent of their votes for the Republican standard bearer, this year gave him 33.7 per cent of their total votes.

"It is noteworthy," Mr. Wilkins pointed out, "that Negro voters in the South, who in 1952 voted more strongly for Governor Adlai Stevenson than colored citizens elsewhere in the nation, this year switched more sharply to the Republicans than did northern Negro voters."

In Louisiana and Kentucky Negro voters who helped hold these states for Governor Stevenson in 1952, this year helped carry them into the Eisenhower column. The President not only increased his vote but succeeded in carrying predominantly Negro election districts in Baltimore, Richmond, Norfolk, Louisville, New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Atlanta, Greensboro, Birmingham, Mobile, Memphis, Nashville, Charleston, S. C., and many other southern cities.

Negro voters in Montgomery are credited with placing that Alabama city in the GOP column for the first time.

The resentment against the Dixiecrats was apparently more keenly felt in areas where they control state and local governments than in the North. The Democrats were still able to carry the Negro wards in New York, Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, Kansas City, Mo., Minneapolis, and in certain other northern cities, although by reduced pluralities.

There was also, in several Negro districts, a falling off of the vote seeming to indicate that many voters, dissatisfied with the performance of both major parties, decided to sit this election out. This was true in Philadelphia and in certain other cities.

While attributing the switch primarily to the civil rights issue, Mr. Wilkins noted that other factors, "such as peace and prosperity, had their impact upon colored voters just as they did upon other citizens. Negroes want peace as well as civil rights," he said, "and they are also sharing in the generally high employment level."

SPINGARN MEDAL

JACKIE ROBINSON, Brooklyn Dodger baseball player, was awarded the 1956 Spingarn Medal at a luncheon held in Hotel Roosevelt, New York City, on December 8.

The Spingarn Medal is presented each year to a Negro American for distinguished achievement. The medalist is chosen by a special committee.

EMPLOYMENT BIAS

HERBERT HILL, NAACP labor secretary, asserts that the President's Committee on Government Contracts has failed to take action to curb discriminatory practices of a trade union local which bar employment opportunities to Negro workers in Cleveland, Ohio.

The NAACP official's charge is set forth in a letter, dated October 23, in response to an inquiry from Theodore Pinkston, a Negro electrician of Cleveland, who alleges that he and other Negro workers have been unable to get jobs on major construction projects financed by federal funds because of their inability to secure membership in Local 38 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO. Under terms of a collective bargaining agreement, membership in the union is a condition of employment.

The NAACP has been assisting these workers in their efforts to get such employment in compliance with the non-discrimination requirements in all government contracts. The President's Committee, of which Vice President Richard M. Nixon is chairman, is charged with the responsibility of securing compliance with the contract requirements.

Following a hearing, the Cleveland Community Relations Board which enforces the local FEPC law, on June 18, found Local 38 guilty of discrimination. Failure of the local to change its practices led to the filing of a complaint with the President's Committee on June 28.

Pointing out that it is now four months since the complaint was filed, Mr. Hill says, in his letter to Mr. Pinkston: "I am forced to report that there has been no action taken by this government agency on your behalf and on behalf of many other Negro workers in the Cleveland area who are denied the right to work because of the discriminatory policies of the building trades unions, although this practice is in violation of the anti-discrimination clauses contained in all U.S. government contracts awarded to private manufacturers and contractors."

Further, the NAACP labor secretary asserts, "the funds which subsidize apprenticeship training programs in Cleveland, as elsewhere, are in substantial part provided by the federal government through grants-in-aid coming from the U.S. Office of Education in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The federal government, therefore, by this procedure, as it affects the IBEW in Cleveland and other apprenticeship training programs, is directly subsidizing discrimination in the skilled trades wherever the respective unions involved excludes Negroes from membership."

Among federally financed construction projects in the Cleveland area on which Negro mechanics are denied employment because of the discriminatory policies of the IBEW are six NIKE launching and control sites for the U.S. Army.

TWO AWARDS IN ONE DAY

ROY WILKINS, NAACP executive secretary, had the unusual experience on November 4 of being presented with two awards in one day. They were from the B'nai B'rith Lodge of Brooklyn, New York, and Nu Omicron chapter (Jamaica, New York) of the Omega Psi Phi fraternity.

The B'nai B'rith award, presented to Mr. Wilkins at the annual covenant breakfast of that group, cited the NAACP official "for his distinguished leadership in the field of civil rights, his eloquent espousal of our democratic faith, and his courageous leadership in the battle for desegregation."

The Omega Psi Phi "Human Relations Award to a resident of Queens" noted that Mr. Wilkins has made "outstanding acihevements in the field of human relations."

Howard's Photo Service

FREEDOM FUND CONTRIBUTION—*Mrs. Martha Smith (second from left), president of the Wilmington, N. C., branch receives a $50 check for the NAACP freedom fund from Mrs. Lula Jones, president of the Laundry Workers Union. This was the first organizational contribution to the newly established Wilmington branch. Others pictured (from L) are Janie Shaw, branch treasurer, and Charles McLean, NAACP field secretary in the State of North Carolina.*

What the Branches Are Doing

California: The executive board of the RICHMOND branch voted in October to have the branch purchase an NAACP life membership. The branch was host October 26-27 to the northern areas conference, and the branch also asked local churches to open their doors to NAACP volunteers to appeal to their congregations for memberships and funds.

October issue of the branch *Bulletin* carried this Flash!":

"The ban on NAACP activity in southern states is mounting. . . . This means a tremendous loss in membership and financial support. This lost must be made up by an all-out effort in other sections of the country. We cannot let up now. We must give more than ever our time and energy so that the Association may have the financial support necessary to meet this crisis and to carry on its program. . . ."

Florida: The Reverend C. Kenzie Steele in a speech before the 17th annual session of the Florida state conference declared, in describing the Tallahassee bus protest:

"We are committed to waging our battle against evil principle and not against people; therefore, it must be non-violent, and motivated by love. Whereas, we hate segregation, racial prejudice, and injustice, we are committed to losing our white friends. We know that they are victims in need of rescue from the poisonous fangs of racial customs and traditions that have grown up out of the hot bed of ignorance and prejudice. Love is the most powerful force (agreement between ends and means) in the world. Protesting in love is not easy. It requires prayer and faith."

Illinois: On October 28 the CHICAGO branch held a conference on equality of opportunity in the schools. Dr. Kenneth Clark of New York's City College was the featured speaker.

Opposition to discrimination in off-campus housing at the University of Illinois has been reaffirmed by the CHAMPAIGN-URBANA branch. The branch in a unanimous vote stated that its position was the same as that of October, 1955, when the group condemned the university policy of granting approval to rooming houses without ascertaining whether or not they are willing to accept Negroes.

Freedom's Call (October, 1956), official organ of the Illinois conference of NAACP branches explains why Illinois needs additional school legislation:

"The experiences throughout the state this year point up the need for additional school legislation. Our early state laws forbidding the segregation of pupils need supplementing in at least four areas; this was the consensus at our two state education committee meetings in Carbondale and at Augus-

tana college in Rock Island.

"Some of our school administrators have shown a Machiavellian ability to achieve segregation by indirect means. Not content with the high degree of segregation in elementary housing, they have resorted to certain administrative measures to insure school segregation. By abolishing definite boundary lines for each school and ostensibly giving pupils the schools of their choice they have secured a great increase in segregation in some cases and have prevented more than a token of integration in others.

Assistant field secretary Edwin Washington, Jr., receives $50 check for NAACP life membership from Lessie Fontno at southeast Texas NAACP workshop.

Madison Jones, NAACP special assistant for housing, Newton Hodges, and branch president Charles Waugh at annual dinner of Muskegon, Mich., branch.

"In Cairo, for example, all but one school would be integrated if definite boundary lines were drawn up for each school. As it is there are a number of all-Negro schools and some white schools with a token few Negro students whose parents had the courage to brave economic reprisals and take the burden of integration upon themselves. No white parents followed their example and there is not even a token integration of the Negro schools.

"In the annual report of a previous year the story was told of how Argo in Cook county succeeded in segregating schools by abolishing boundary lines. When after about twelve years this obscure administrative device was realized by some of the parents, some Negro children entered the school nearest them, thereby desegregating those schools. However, the one all-Negro

school remained segregated since no white parents took the responsibility for integration.

"Since the Supreme Court decision of 1954 has pointed out that segregation is an evil in itself, it would seem incumbent upon our school administrators to suit their regulations to this spirit, or, failing that, at least to follow standard administrative procedure. In a place of any size where race has not been an issue it is customary to establish boundary lines for each school so that there will be no confusion about which school a pupil should attend. But where race has entered the picture these lines have often been gerrymandered or abolished. It is our belief that a law should be passed requiring the establishment of boundary lines for each elementary and high school, with of course the proper safeguards and exceptions for special requirements.

"Second, we think our state laws should be amended to prohibit the question of race entering into the hiring of teachers. A school board in Illinois can and sometimes does openly refuse to hire qualified Negro teachers because of their race and suffers no penalty. There is even a convenient law on our state books allowing a board on plea of emergency to hire teachers not fully qualified. This is used to avoid hiring Negro teachers and should be repealed.

"Third, we need a law requiring the review of bond issues for new schools, or additions, with respect to integration. The location of fine new school building in a Negro area, or with a boundary line including only Negroes, is a favorite segregative device.

"Our present state law permits the teaching of Negro history. We need an amendment making mandatory the teaching of information about the contributions of minorities to American history and especially of Negroes since (their part has been most distorted)."

Michigan: The MUSKEGON branch presented Newton A. Hodges a certificate of merit at the branch's annual

Among the officers of the Milwaukee, Wis., branch are Fred Hickman, president; Mrs. R. Townsend, membership chairman; Mrs. Grant Gordon, campaign director; and Mrs. Husie Colbert, campaign co-chairman.

dinner on October 5. Approximately 200 people gathered at the YWCA to show their appreciation for Mr. Hodges' work and to listen to featured speaker Madison Jones, housing coordinator from the national office.

Mr. Hodges was awarded the certificate in appreciation for his outstanding work during the branch spring membership campaign. He brought in more than 100 new members. Russell Partington also presented some fifteen certificates of appreciation to local churches, clubs, and organizations for their contributions to the fighting fund for freedom.

The GRAND RAPIDS branch was host on October 21 to five candidates for public office, as follows: George Clay, Democratic candidate for the U. S. House of Representatives; Honorable Gerald Ford, his opponent and Republican incumbent; Stuart Hoffius, Republican incumbent, Kent county prosecutor, and his Democratic opponent John Starr; and Joseph Hansknecht, Democratic candidate for the state senate.

Recent disciplinary incidents in the GRAND RAPIDS public schools have been labeled by some as racially inspired demonstrations. Parents of some of the students involved asked the branch to come to their aid. The branch asked Mrs. Walter Coe, an experienced youth worker, to investigate the complaints. After a thorough investigation, she reported that the incidents were not racial, but were an outgrowth of a general breakdown in discipline in the local schools.

Minnesota: The seventh annual convention of the Minnesota state conferences of NAACP branches was held in MINNEAPOLIS November 9-10. There were general sessions, workshops, and an address by Rev. Archibald Carey of Chicago.

The October 21 meeting of the MINNEAPOLIS branch included the annual election of a nomination committee for officers and executive board recommendations for 1957.

New York: Bronson O'Reilly, Shelter Island Democratic candidate for congressman, debated the civil rights question with State Senator Elisha Barrett, Brightwaters Republican, at an October meeting of the CENTRAL LONG ISLAND branch.

Mrs. Dorothea Cumberbach, chairman of the legislative committee of the Central Long Island branch, is a Suffolk county personality. She was the first Negro to be elected to the Suffolk county school board, for a three-year term. She is a member of the Wyandanch school board, serving on the teachers' relations and bus transportation committees, and was also the first Negro to be on the adult education advisory board in Wyandanch and Suffolk counties. Mrs. Cumberbach is likewise active in many political, fraternal, and civic organizations. She has two grown sons, is a proud grandmother, and for many years helped her husband, E. Mortimer Cumberbach, operate the D & M Cumberbach Realty Company. Her husband is president of the C & D Cement Block Company, Inc., a thirty-year-old business which employs both white and Negro help.

The citizens met the politicians in a spirited give-and-take in the Siloam auditorium in Brooklyn last October. The occasion was a Town Meeting on Civil Rights and Politics sponsored by the labor committee of the BROOKLYN branch, with Warren Bunn as chairman. John O. Killens, author of *Youngblood*, was the moderator and kicked the meeting off with some sharp and pointed questions to the speakers. The panel of speakers consisted of Rev. George Thomas, pastor of Brown Memorial Church, for the Republican party; Harold Brady, chairman of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Liberal Party Club;

Frank Horne, Intergroup committee of New York City, for the Democrats; Mrs. Joyce Cowly, for the Socialist Workers party; and Edward Gottlieb, for the Socialist party. The discussion was a heated one throughout and reached the boiling point when it came to audience participation.

John O. Killens, author of *Youngblood,* was featured speaker at the October meeting of the COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY NAACP chapter. He spoke on "The Negro in American Literature." "The New Negro," he said, "welcomes allies, and fortunately for America their numbers are increasing, and although he recognizes that he cannot win without these allies, he nevertheless realizes that in a fundamental way his future lies in his own hands, and that if he is to progress, he must be the one to determine his own position in society."

The CORONA-EAST ELMHURST mourns the death of branch member Magnolia Jentons.

Mrs. Rosa Parks of Montgomery, Alabama, whose refusal to pay at the front door and enter at the back precipitated the Montgomery bus strike, was featured speaker at the November 15 meeting of the Corona-East Elmhurst branch. The meeting was held in the Antioch Baptist church.

North Carolina: Ralph Jones of the GREENSBORO branch reports that his business is being boycotted, his store pelted with rotten eggs, and his family threatened because of his stand on civil rights. And many of his neighbors are now calling him "Nigger lover." Ralph Jones is white.

The family of the late Mrs. Viola Crosby McLean of Winston-Salem set a precedent at her funeral last May when they requested friends, instead of sending flowers for her funeral, to make a contribution to the WINSTON-SALEM branch of the NAACP. A beautiful, specially prepared card of acknowledgment was sent by the branch, on behalf of the family, for every contribution received. Mrs. McLean was a native of Winston-Salem and a graduate of Winston-Salem Teachers college.

Pennsylvania: This shocking report on police brutality comes from the PHILADELPHIA branch.

The case involves Julius A. Bridges, 23, of 3617 North 19th Street. Investigation revealed that on Wednesday October 24, 1956, about 5:30 p.m. Mr. Bridges was driving his 1956 Mercury Coupe, with his brother, Lafayette Bridges, of the same address, as a passenger on 17th Street. When the car approached Pulaski Ave., there was a line-up of cars caused by a stalled automobile, and young Bridges, who was then on his way home from work at the Lamb Construction Company in Morrisville, swung around the stalled traffic. When his automobile had reached the front of the line, he saw the driver of the automobile sitting in the car, attempting to get it started. At that time, Bridges noticed that the driver wore a police shirt, but was not otherwise dressed as a policeman. (It was later determined this was an officer off duty.)

The driver of the stalled car hollored over to Bridges, "What's the matter, you in a hurry? Pull over." Bridges then pulled his car to the side and the police officer, later determined to be Richard Beswick, Badge No. 1722 of the 31st District, 26th and York Sts., came over to Bridges and asked for his driver's license and identification.

Bridges gave it to him and then the officer said. "You colored people with big cars think you own the City", to which Bridges replied that he, Bridges, didn't think he should be subjected to that sort of language since he had done nothing to warrant it. The officer then told Bridges. "You're a smart one. I'm going to take you in."

When Bridges told the officer that there was no reason for his arresting him, the officer then pushed Bridges in front of him, kicked him, and when Bridges turned around, struck him across the head with his gun. In all, the officer struck Bridges three times with his gun, which required seventeen stitches at the Temple Hospital.

Bridges was arrested and at the hearing at the 22nd and Hunting Park Station the following morning, the police officer said he desired to drop the charges, and the Magistrate promptly fined Bridges $12.50 for "disorderly conduct."

The Pennsylvania state conference held a very successful meeting October 26-28, 1956, at ERIE. Education, integration, housing, and politics were some of the topics discussed.

Although housing generaly is the reason for all-Negro schools in Pennsylvania, Mrs. Sophie B. Nelson of Pittsburgh, chairman of the education committee, scored the Philadelphia school board for failing to correct a number of school problems. She said a number of schools have almost all Negro pupils and that several schools have all-Negro faculties.

On FEPC, Elliott Shirk, executive director of the state FEP commission outlined the long-range educational objectives of the law. He said the commission is trying to bring about a greater aceptance of the idea of full integration.

On a more immediate basis, Mr. Shirk said it is the job of the commission to help people who are discriminated against in jobs because of race, creed, color or age.

He said Negroes have been barred, generally, from clerical jobs, office work, and positions in public utilities and banks.

Mr. Shirk suggested the setting-up of community advisory councils to "sell" firms on the idea of hiring new workers on their qualifications.

Rev. Roger H. Sharpe of the Erie human relations commission said upgrading of Negro workers is as serious and, perhaps, more difficult than getting employers to hire Negroes in the first place.

Dr. Boyd, a native of Pittsburgh, was honored for leading the fight to end segregation within the Methodist Church. Largely through his efforts, the denomination endorsed racial integration and called for abolishment of the church's special Negro jurisdiction.

Branches cited for outstanding service during the past year were the Allegheny-Kiski Valley branch, Blairsville, Ambler, Darby, Erie, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

In the annual election meeting, Attorney Henry R. Smith Jr. of Pittsburgh was re-elected president. Also re-elected were Dr. James A. Gillespie, New Castle, first vice president; Joshua O. Thompson, Ambler, second vice president, and Saul Griffin, Johnstown, third vice president.

Ann Hines of Bryn Mawr was elected secretary and John B. Campbell of New Castle was elected assistant secretary. John G. Jones of Pittsburgh was re-elected treasurer.

Rhode Island: After several conferences since 1952, and a couple of surveys, the PROVIDENCE branch has succeeded in getting the Provident Housing Authority to announce a fair policy of tenant selection.

West Virginia: The GREENBRIER branch was host September 15-16 to the West Virginia state conference of NAACP branches.

State organizer William Dunn has sold a life membership to the alumnae association of the Bolling high school.

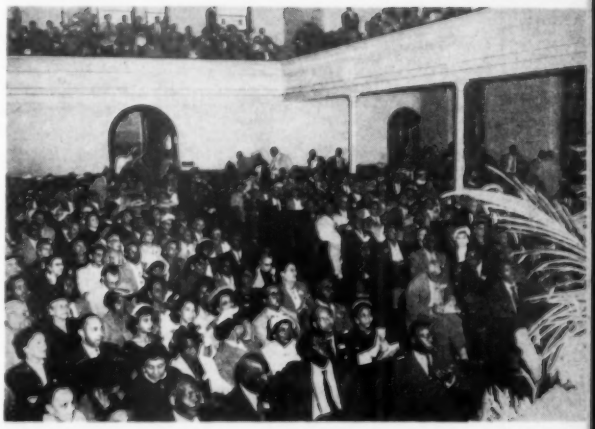
Wisconsin: Calvin Moody is champion campaign worker of the MILWAUKEE branch. He brought in more than 134 memberships.

Leather-bound and gold-embossed testimonials presented to Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president Richmond, Va., branch during Jackson Memorial-Tinsley testimonial dinner. Seated at left is NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins.

Two civil-rights warriors, Mrs. Barbara Marx of Arlington and A. G. Edwards of Dinwiddie, receive merit certificates from Luther P. Jackson award committee chairman Roland Ealey (R). Mrs. Marx is one of white plaintiffs in Arlington county school segregation suit.

Dr. and Mrs. E. B. Henderson present $100 initial payment on NAACP life membership to Claudius Brown (L), president Fairfax county branch. Dr. Henderson is president of Virginia state conference NAACP branches.

Virginia state conference officials conferring with Dr. Martin Luther King, leader in Montogmery, Ala., bus protest, before Dr. King delivered the keynote address at the 21st Virginia state convention.



Working under convention theme "Achieving Democracy in Virginia With Deliberate Speed," Virginians evidenced their disgust at overt attempts of Virginia officials to silence NAACP by making the 21st convention (Oct. 5-7, 1956) the largest ever held in the South.

Life membership plaque presented by Sacramento, Calif., branch president Mrs. Alvernon Tripp (L) to Mrs. Charles Haskins, past president, representing the Sacramento chapter of The Links, Inc. Fifty-eight Link chapters have paid-in-full NAACP life memberships.

College and School News

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Jefferson City, Missouri

THE MARYLAND EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION and the trustees of the MORGAN STATE COLLEGE cooperated in dedication ceremonies at the unveiling of a monument to Frederick Douglass on the Morgan campus. Governor Theodore R. McKeldin of Maryland made the dedication speech and Dr. Benjamin Quarles spoke on the life of Douglass.

■

BARBER-SCOTIA COLLEGE reports five new faculty members for the academic year 1956-57, as follows: Charles Brown, elementary education; Mrs. Mildred Fields, librarian; Edith Jackson, music; Sue Burton, physical education; and Douglas Houchens, art.

The college was host on November 16 to the annual meeting of the North Carolina College Conference, an organization composed of five public colleges, six private and two junior colleges.

■

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE was host September 28-29 to the second in a series of conferences (sponsored by the Phelps-Stokes Fund) for the improvement of instruction in secondary schools.

Dr. R. W. Brown, director of the George W. Carver Foundation, has received a new research grant of $12,000 from the National Cancer Institute of the National Institutes of Health for continued work on the growth of animal cells in tissue culture. The award begins June 1, 1957.

The Institute has added fifty-four new individuals and six second appointments for a total of sixty positions filled at the opening of the school's 76th academic year.

■

A large untapped source of potential manpower is seen in the undiscovered thousands of able junior-high and senior-high school students, according to the annual report of the NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS released by executive vice-chairman Richard L. Plaut.

■

People from all walks of life and from all sections of the country filled the FISK UNIVERSITY memorial chapel on October 31 for the funeral of Dr. Charles S. Johnson. Dr. Johnson, who was 63, died suddenly of a heart attack in the Union Station of Louisville, Kentucky, on October 27.

Dr. Johnson was elected president of Fisk in 1946, the first Negro to serve the institution in that capacity. He had been associated with Fisk since 1928 as director of the social science department and professor of sociology. He was the au-

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thor of eighteen books and more than seventy articles.

The University board of trustees has named two committees: one to nominate a successor to the late president, Dr. Charles S. Johnson; the other, to operate the university in the interim.

■

Skin color does not determine scholastic ability, emphasized Father Joseph F. Donceel, S.J., of FORDHAM UNIVERSITY, in an address to the bi-monthly communion breakfast of the Catholic Interracial Council and the Catholic Laymen's Union of New York City. Given equal opportunity and equal intellectual stimulation, white and Negro students achieve equal scholastic grades, he said. Any disparity between white and Negro students in school work can invariably be traced to inequality in basic educational training, Father Donceel pointed out.

■

The priest, the Very Reverend Maurice Vincent Shean, who gave Rock Hill, South Carolina, "the only integrated parochial school" in the entire state, describes the South in an interview in *The Sign* (November, 1956), national Catholic magazine published in Union City, New Jersey, as "that part of the United States where the things everyone says can't be done eventually get done, provided there's someone around to just naturally up and do them."

■

"Columbia [University] never has and never will participate in any sporting event where a member of

the team is not accorded all of the privileges, whether on the playing field or in eating, sleeping, traveling, or social facilities, granted his teammates," Ralph Furey, Columbia director of intercollegiate athletics, declared in a statement published in the *Columbia Daily Spectator* (October 8, 1956).

The statement was issued at a meeting with two representatives of the Columbia chapter of the NAACP. It had been requested by the executive committee of the chapter at a meeting called following the announcement that Harvard was cancelling a scheduled southern tour of its basketball team because of legislation recently passed by the Louisiana state legislature and the Georgia board of regents banning interracial sports.

Jeh Vincent Johnson, 25, of Nashville, Tennessee, has been elected president of the student body of COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY'S School of Architecture. Mr. Johnson, a third-year student at the school, is the son of the late Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk.

■

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY reports 950 students enrolled for the 1956-57 session. There are 741 Virginians and more than 480 Richmonders, with more than 169 out-of-state students and two from Africa.

Dr. Lewis A. Gist, Jr., joins the faculty as a professor of chemistry; Theodore R. Sykes, returns to his alma mater after receiving his M.A. degree in mathematics from Pennsylvania State College.

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The university personnel service is using student counsellors for the first time. More than thirty persons have been chosen by the students and the personnel staff to represent both resident and day students.

More than two-thirds of the university student body have taken advantage of the opportunity provided by the National Polio Foundation to receive the salk vaccine.

Five alumni will be honored annually according to policies established by the National Alumni Council of VUU and its second annual session held in October.

■

Dr. Hardy Liston, 67, president of JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY, died at his home in Charlotte in October after a lingering illness. Funeral services for Dr. Liston were held in the university church.

Dr. Liston came to Johnson C. Smith in 1943 as executive vice-president and served in that capacity until 1947, when he became president.

Ernest C. Grigg, Jr., United Nations social welfare adviser to the Middle East, was awarded the honorary degre of Doctor of Humane Letters in a special university convocation held in October.

Dr. J. Vance McIver, a member of the general assembly of the State of New Jersey, delivered the university homecoming message on October 20.

■

Ten FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE students have been listed in the 1956-57 edition of *Who's Who Among Students in American Colleges and Universities.* There are three seniors and seven juniors in the group, all selected upon the basis of excellence in scholarship and campus leadership and citizenship records.

Nine Fayetteville freshmen are winners of the $100 scholarships offered by the college.

■

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE was host October 29-November 2 to the Annual Agricultural Extension Service Conference. The AAESC is an educational service of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute, Virginia State college, and the U. S. Department of Agriculture, with county governments cooperating.

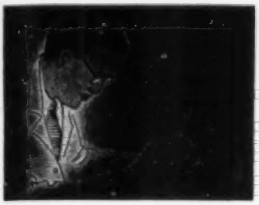
Two hundred and twenty VSC students made the honor roll for the second session, according to college registrar J. Louise Barrett. Of this number, six made straight "A" averages.

First major production of the College Theatre Guild, *Anastasia,* was presented in the college auditorium on November 16.

■

George D. Brantley, principal of the Summer high School, St. Louis, Missouri, was guest speaker on November 11 at a special convention at LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) held in observation of American Education Week (November 11-17).

Dr. J. N. Freeman, head of the Lincoln department of agriculture, conducted a two-day state conference of teachers of vocational services at Arkansas A. M. & N. college, Pine Bluff, Arkansas, November 1-2.



Book Reviews

DIVERSITY OF WOMANHOOD

***My Lord, What A Morning.* An autobiography by Marian Anderson. New York: The Viking Press, 1956. VIII+312 pp. $5.00.**

***Proud Shoes: The Story of an American Family.* By Pauli Murray. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956. 276 pp. $3.50.**

***Thursday's Child.* By Eartha Kitt. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1956. Illustrated from photographs. 250 pp. $3.95.**

As if any documentation were needed, these biographies attest to the diversity of womanhood. One could hardly conceive of any three women whose personalities differ more widely than the Misses Anderson, Murray, and Kitt. The epitome of queenly dignity, Miss Anderson also has a spiritual quality which makes her seem a little better than the rest of us. Miss Murray is the emancipated woman, an aggressive lawyer who has forged ahead in a man's profession. Miss Kitt is the cuddlesome chanteuse of "New Faces" and "Santa Baby" fame.

Misses Anderson and Murray tell how they got the way they are, even though Miss Murray's is a family portrait. The famed contralto came from humble origins, but her spirit was remarkably untouched by the Philadelphia slums around her. The lawyer's assertiveness and independence stem from a long line of proud forebears—teachers, farmers and businessmen. As for Miss Kitt, this reviewer does not know any more about her character now than he did before he read her life story. Although a versatile entertainer, her talents do not extend into the literary field.

Miss Kitt merely sketches her childhood and her career instead of drawing a full portrait which would define the inspiration and motivation which led to her astounding success. She came all the way up from a South Carolina cottonfield, but she writes as though her rise were an accident attributed to her being "alive, young and a woman."

Assisted by Howard Taubman, the music critic, Miss Anderson writes with deeper insight and greater effect. She tells of her career from the time she sang for pennies in Philadelphia churches until her debut at the Metropolitan Opera House. (In the early days a choral director told her widowed mother that "one of these days this child is going to earn $50 a night.") Miss Anderson graciously recalls reverses and how they contributed to her growth as an artist and a person. A premature Town Hall debut, for example, was a keen disappointment and the author, like Roland Hayes, never was given due recognition until she first received critical acclaim in Europe.

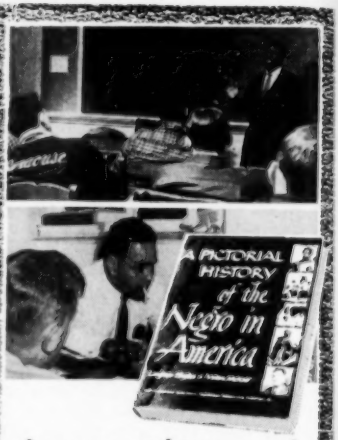
Her character is further communicated by the telling of her feeling for her music, parents, husband and race. It is all very good and very inspirational.

Those seeking more provocative fare will find Miss Murray's book most stimulating. Seldom is the experience of being Negro in America more vividly portrayed than in her story of her maternal ancestors. People from both sides of the "color veil" — to use W. E. B. Du Bois' phrase — stem from Miss Murray's family tree: whites of Scotch, Irish, French and Swedish ancestry; Negroes, slave and free-born, and Cherokee Indians.

The author dramatically views the character of slavery and the mass schizophrenia which it produced. "Black ancestry," she writes, "brought the shame of slavery; white ancestry was condemned as bastardy and brought another kind of shame." This feeling of shame also existed on the white side of the veil. Miss Murray's great-aunt, Mary Ruffin Smith, was torn between the caste system and her love for her four nieces whose mother was a pretty Octoroon housegirl.

"Proud Shoes" spans a century in the genealogy of the North Carolina Smiths and the Delaware Fitzgeralds. It ends with the death of Miss Murray's Negro grandfather, Robert Fitzgerald, in 1919, when the author was still a child. Of all the ancestors, the slight and sensitive grandfather is the most compelling and most noble. Neither war, blindness nor the Ku Klux Klan could deny him his manhood. After the Civil War he left his native Pennsylvania for North Carolina, where he committed the cardinal sin of "teaching niggers." On the basis of his granddaughter's book, they have learned well.

LUTHER P. JACKSON, JR.



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MOSAIC VISION

***The Negro in American Culture.* By Margaret Just Butcher. Based on materials left by Alain Locke. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956. XIII+294+XI pp. $4.50.**

The design of *The Negro in American Culture* as set forth in Margaret Just Butcher's underscoring introduction is "to trace in historical sequence —but topical fashion—both the folk and formal contributions of the American Negro to American culture." Currently Associate Professor of English at Howard University, Dr. Butcher has here undertaken a task which would in any case be difficult: to carry through to completion the course marked out by the late Alain Locke (1886-1954), a man whose mosaic vision took in the world and Negro culture with rare insight. From his notes left to her and with his blessings she presents a work at once showing clearly how great is our loss and that the interval between an ambitious scholar and a man of genius is as wide as ever.

In the chapters he contributed to this volume, Dr. Locke has set forth an intriguing thesis, couched in a prose through which glows his peculiar vision and genius. "The modern view," he observes, "is that cultural influence is always a two-way process, proceeding not only from the top down, but sometimes also from the bottom up. Master influences slave; slave in some respects influences master. Where divergent groups are in contact, their influence is reciprocal. . . ." He perceives of "folk culture" as "the sort of social plant" which has an "atmospheric mode of growth and propagation," and thereupon offers the following clincher:

By his characteristic humor, emotional temper, mystic superstitions, contagious nonchalance, amiability, and sentimentality—all of which were later to find expression in typical modes of folk art—the Negro observably colored the general temper and folkways of the American South.

The master class, proud and prejudiced . . . could . . . under no circumstances take the Negro seriously enough to acknowledge any indebtedness. . . . But the same society that shut its doors so relentlessly and raised such formidable barriers of caste, naively left its psychological rear doors unguarded. Negro influences came creeping . . . crowding in.

Now it was the task of Dr. Butcher to pull together in publishable form materials illustrating this basic premise. She was to do the sections on fiction, poetry and drama, and any others she felt within her capacity. And this she has done; with the result that the student, for all the mixture of reverence and sentiment she holds for the master, reveals herself as not having lived close enough to the profounder aspects of the subject under discussion to render them with the authentic tone which was the master's standard. The vision of one man, said Kahlil Gibran, lends not its wings to another. Indeed, it is perhaps too much to ask; certainly too much to expect.

She can be strikingly accurate in some of her judgments: ". . . it is a stacking of the cards to attribute domestic happiness to homogeneity of racial background and to deny the possibility of happiness solely because of a racial difference. Such oversimplification of personal relationships reflects no concern for individual character." She can be challenging: "Foster's ballads did more to crystalize the romance of the plantation tradition than all the Southern colonels and novelists put together." She can be careless, as when she gives the impression that the documentary film, *The Quiet One*, is the same type of film as *Intruder in the Dust* (from the novel); or, as when she writes, "With minor exceptions, Phillis Wheatley's work was scrupu-

lously modeled after Pope. . . ." She can be in such a hurry over some important fiction until she fails to do justice to its value. And she can be breathtaking:

". . . Although we have projected her into the discussion of 'modern reinterpretations of the Negroes,' Lillian Smith deserves to be more broadly allied with the few moderns of Christian, or of universal moral and ethical sensibility whose literal democratic awareness makes them both able and willing to relate our domestic moral failings to our failure to win overwhelming and unanimous democratic support from the millions of people of the East who must eventually ally themselves with one or the other of today's major political idealogies."

The Negro in American Culture deserves to be read. That it is not the monument it might have been is less a criticism of Dr. Butcher's effort than a tribute to Alain Locke. He was inimitable.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

***Island in the Sun.* A novel by Alec Waugh. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1955. 538 pp. $3.95.**

***A Wreath for Udomo.* A novel by Peter Abrahams. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956. 357 pp. $3.95.**

***The Savage City.* A novel by Jean Paradise. New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1955. 319 pp. $3.95.**

Alec Waugh's *Island in the Sun* is a painfully lengthy journalistic novel of manners which portrays life on a fictional island (Santa Marta) in the West Indes from the point of view of the British government ruling class. The protagonist, Maxwell Fleury, is a thin slice of Galsworthy's Soames Forsythe to which Mr. Waugh has added some equally thin slices from Dostoevski's *Crime and Punishment*. This ham and cheese is overbreaded with quite a supporting cast, the most remarkable of whom is one Grainger Morris, an astute, Oxford-educated, mixed-blood lawyer whom Mr. Waugh has literally gilded with integrity.

The main conflict in this novel is contrived out of the discovery by Bradshaw, a tired American journalist, that the Fluery family strain contains that potent drop of black blood, a factor the author chooses to capitalize on (in a contemporary setting!) as if it were a Shakespearean ghost. Thus despite the combination of hunger for self-assertion and the chance element which motivate Maxwell (who commits a murder) and Boyeur, the insurrectionist whose social and political situation accommodate Maxwell's escape from himself and the law, *Island in the Sun* is verveless and monotoned to the point of boredom. This is so because Mr. Waugh has imposed on his novel the protocol of ruling-class manners at the expense of character. No one is allowed to find his own way, and therefore nobdy belongs to himself apart from the society he is protrayed to obey. The result is that much of the mulling and dialogue which is stretched across the pages of this book is interchangeable among the members of the cast.

The characters in Peter Abrahams' *A Wreath for Udomo* face a more challenging purpose than that of lolling about in colonial culture comforts. Mr. Abrahams, whose work is usually on fire with a full sense of love and fredom, has in this case written a political novel which tends to look into the problems and future of Africa. The mission of Udomo, therefore, is that of attempting to transfuse the modern-life blood of industrialism into tribal veins. The veins of Selina, another of Mr. Abrahams' strong woman types, will not take it; she is consequently the

making and unmaking of Udomo. On the other hand, Tom Lanwood has lived in London so long he cannot function effectively as one of the agents for Africa's freedom.

Actually, each of the persons in Mr. Abrahams' drama represents a position in what is in fact a fictionalized panel discussion over which Mr. Abrahams sits as a detached moderator. Some of them are more human than political; particularly so is Lois, the Englishwoman whose love for Udomo is so ruthlessly betrayed. What is at issue here is not only colonialism gainst tribalism, but dream against reality. And it is to the author's credit that he does not get himself involved in labels; his message is directed towards the heart of humanity.

The Savage City pulls the curtain back on the atmosphere in New York City in the year 1741 to reveal some skeletons in the closet. But it is first of all a timely reminder that illustrates with historical accuracy how an unleashed air of suspicion may gather momentum and become all-inclusive. Richard Tucker is something of a swashbuckler with a catholic taste for women, and Johanna Mcgregor, who is certain to marry him despite his dubious origin, is the typical high-blooded lass who waits. But from this match others are made according to the social level. The trouble comes in with Mary Burton, a truly wretched creature who finds comfort for her indentured misery in concocting lies about the slaves.

Miss Paradise is serious-minded, but her characters move about so hurriedly one cannot focus on them. Nevertheless, *The Savage City* could be made into an excellent movie.

HENRY F. WINSLOW

"THE NEGRO REVOLT"

***Negroes on the March: A Frenchman's Report on the American Negro Struggle.* By Daniel Guérin. Translated and edited by Duncan Ferguson. American Distributor: George L. Weissman, 325 East 17th Street, New York 3, N. Y. 1956. 192 pp. $1.50 Paper.**

What is wrong with the United States is the theme of Daniel Guérin's two-volume *Où va le peuple américain?* (1950; 1951)—*Whither the American People?* M. Guérin, as a Marxist, feels that our chief ills flow from our industrial and banking monopolies and the resultant discords which they stir up in order to perpetuate their power. The remedy? An alliance of organized labor, the Negro, and other progressive forces. Our author calls this "The agrarian and Negro revolt" about which he writes in his second volume. *Negroes on the March* is an Englishing of Part IV, Chapters I and II, of this volume.

M. Guérin's excessive dependence on a Marxist interpretation does disservice to his heavily documented and factually-packed book and frequently leads him to distortion and over simplification. All too often he substitutes abstraction for understanding. To him the NAACP, for example, is an instrument for petty bourgeois leaders and therefore unrealistic in its program.

He also has the quixotic notion that the American Communist party was the first to teach Negroes the "techniques of direct action and mass action," especially in the North; that the Communist did not practice racial discrimination within their ranks; and that the Socialist Workers Party deserves credit for its "uncompromising attitude against jim crow." He claims that Garvey's UNIA at its height had several million members, not true; nor did Garvey touch the bulk of American Negroes. M. Guérin likewise exaggerates the cleavage between the Negro

upper-class and the masses. There are many such over-simplifications and misinterpretations.

M. Guérin's picture of Negro second-class citizenship is broadly accurate: Negroes are on the march, but in total perspective the book is off-center because the author ignores the divergences in the social and economic experiences of Americans and Europeans.

Who is Daniel Guérin? Daniel Guérin is a prolific French journalist who has devoted more than twenty years of his life to fighting French colonialism. His *Au service des colonisés*, (Serving the Colonized) 1930-1953 (1954) records a part of that fight just as his *La peste brune a passe par là* (The Brown Plague Passed That Way, 1936) reports on Hitlerian Germany and *Fascisme et grand capital* (Fascism and Big Business, 1936) makes a comparative analysis of Italian and German fascism. His magnum opus is *La lutte de classes sous la première république, 1793-1797* (Class Struggle Under The First Republic, 1946), now regarded as the classic Marxist interpretation of the French Revolution.

JAMES W. IVY

DR. ROBERT B. JOHNSON

(*See page* 607)

The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South. **By Kenneth M. Stampp. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1956. XI+436+XIII pp. $5.75.**

Goodbye to Uncle Tom. **By J. C. Furnas. New York: William Sloane Associates, 1956. 435 pp. $6.00.**

Here are two books about Negro slavery but their approaches to the subject run to opposite extremes. In *The Peculiar Institution* historian Stampp has written what is undoubtedly one of the best books available on chattel servitude as a socio-historical phenomenon in the United States. With self-explanatory chapters on The Setting, From Day Clean to First Dark, To Make Them Stand in Fear, Chattels Personal, Slavemongering, Maintenance, Morbidity, and Mortality, Between Two Cultures, Profit and Loss, and He Who Has Endured, he deftly analyzes, without sentiment or mush, without favorable or unfavorable blindness, what slavery was about. There is real searching comparison as to the economies of slavery; trenchant revelation in proper perspective of the animalistic nature involved in slave breeding; acute understanding of slave abilities to outwit masters, and, underlying all, the complex psychological problem faced by those who lived—owner and nonowner—at the time as how to face up to the issue of treating humans as things, es-

pecially in the face of cruelty, Christianity, and culture resting on democratic foundations. Professor Stampp has pointed out with cogent insight what the institution meant through the remark of a slave who pronounced a simple and chastening truth when he said, "'Tisn't he who has stood and looked on, that can tell you what slavery is—'tis he who has endured. I was black, but I had the feelings of a man as well as any man."

Mr. Stampp has pulled together the major aspects of slavery and given judicious and objective treatment in a manner that stands out starkly in admirable contrast to the reporting done by Mr. Furnas in *Goodbye to Uncle Tom*. Professing to have written the book to help deconfuse people about the Negro question in America, the author only serves to muddy even more already well muddied waters as he tries to cover much the same ground trod by Professor Stampp. However, lacking the skill, knowledge, foresight, background, and calm appraisal talent of the latter, he turns his piece into a monologic polemical diatribe against Harriet Beecher Stowe for writing *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a volume which he projects as the major cause for the pattern of race relations extant in America today. His volume is marked by inaccurate and unfounded analogies of rustic contemporary southern Negro practices with West African customs that match the tone of his personal vendetta against Mrs. Stowe, hat Mr. Furnas failed to understand that one must evaluate a work in the light of the times in which it was produced is only indicative of his emotional rashness and neurotic astigmatism, well intentioned though he may be.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

SEGREGATED YOUTH

(*Continued from page* 585)

policemen, the community, and the nation. Policemen who solicit funds for the Club's worthy purpose of aiding boys often find themselves in the embarrassing position of defending racial segregation. The District Government's official policy of nonsegregation loses its meaning when its own officers publicly espouse and support segregation.

The effort to end the Club's segregation has reached into the courts and to the highest levels of government. A suit is now pending in the federal district court against the Club and the District Commissioners, and further suits are being planned. In addition, various organizations have tried to enlist the support of Governor Sherman Adams, who is President Eisenhower's White House "Chief of Staff", and the support of Vice President Nixon who, as chairman of the President's Committee on Government Contracts, deals with discrimination in the expenditure of funds under government contracts. To date, all of these efforts have been unsuccessful.

Segregation in the public life of Washington is ending rapidly. Its demise is inevitable. The Club officials, the Police Department, and the District Commissioners know, or should realize, that blind insistence on continuing the outmoded pattern of segregation in the Police Boys Club hurts its basic objective of combatting juvenile delinquency. It is time they did something about it.

THE CRISIS

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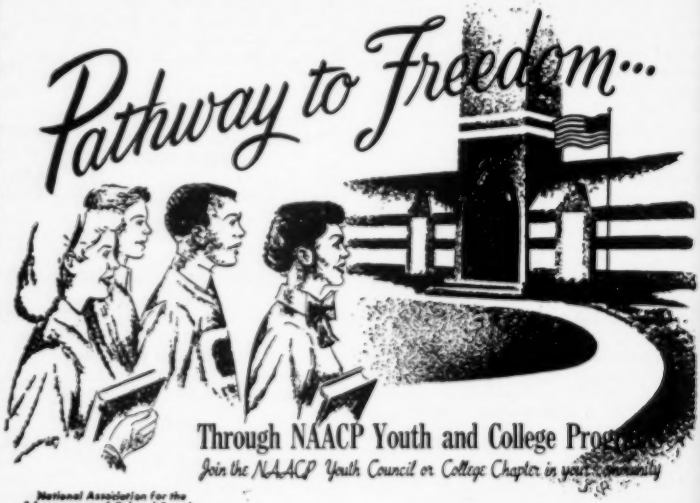

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